THE

ROMAN HISTORY

BY

TITUS LIVIUS;

WITH THE

SUPPLEMENT

OF

JOHN FREINSHEIM;

Tranſlated into ENGLISH, and illuſtrated with geographical and chronological Notes; adorn'd with Maps, Cuts and Medals.

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V. 5. P. 1

AFRICA,

According to ye Newest and most Exact Observations.

By

Herman Moll Geographer.

THE ATLANTICK OCEAN

ETHIOPIAN OCEAN

SOUTHERN OCEAN

INDIAN OCEAN

PART of ASIA

Tropick of Cancer

Equinoctial Line

Tropick of Capricorn

The first Meridian from Ferro Island

SPAIN

Str. of Gibraltar

Madera I.

Canary Islands

C. Bejador

C. das Barbas

C. Blanco

Cape Verde I.

C. Verde

Gambia

Hard Sand

Sherbro For.

C. Mesurado

Cape Palmas

Cape 3 Points

Sierra Leona

Tombuctoo

Tegazza

Guangala

Suma

Berdoa

Desart of Elocath

Barca

Bonandria

Smirna

NATOLIA

Antiochia

Jerusalem

LEVANT

Candia

Cyprus

Sicily

Malta

Tripoli

Algier

Tunis

Fez and Morocco

Mecca

ARABIA

Nubia

Sabaha

Darga

Gorham

Abissina

Socatra I.

Str. of Babelmandel

C. Gardafui

Azum

Zeila

Adea

Opin

C. Comorin

INDIA

Sangara

Amazeu

Head of R. Nil

Borno

Borno well

Cassena

Gulangara

Agadez

Zanfara

Medra

Benin

Biafar

Median

Niger R.

Lake Parts Unknown

Zaire R.

Congo

Dongo

Macaco

Gevi

Maurauma

Zanguebar

Mombase

Montagnate del Gado

Quiloa

Mozambique

Sofala

Monomotapa

Chicova

Tete

Manica

Sena

Luanohe

Armsata

Amara

Zachaf Lake

Matamman

Benguela Manicongo

Angola

Loango

Malemba

Port de Pinda

St. Paul de Loando

C. Lopas

I. Annaboa

I. St. Matheo

I. Ascension

St. Helena

I. de Trinidada

Angra I.

C. Negro

Mount St. Thomas

Porto de Elheos

Elephant R.

Table Bay

Cape of Good Hope

Hottentots

CAFFRES

R. St. Christopher

Bay de St. Bras

Terra de Natal

C. de Bassas del Velho

Magadoxa

Bassas de Patron

Bassas de Banhas

I. de Almirante

Almirante I.

7 Irmanos

3 Irmanos

I. de Gratia

I. Diego Roiz

Bas. das Chagas

Diego Gratiosa

I. Astore

I. Gallega

I. Roquepiz

Bassas de Nazaree

Shole St. Brandon

Diego Rois

I. Mauritius

I. Mascarenhas

C. Corrientes

B. St. Augustin

C. St. Maria

C. St. Sebastian

Shole

Dos Garaios

I. St. Mary's

Mozambique

C. St. Andrea

C. St. Sebastian

Que Chan

Quiloa

Ruri

Agos

Zanguebar

Ethiopia

Nubia

Red Sea

THE ROMAN HISTORY BY TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

DECAD III. BOOK XXVIII.

This book contains an account of the ſucceſs of Silanus, Scipio's Lieutenant, and of L. Scipio, his brother, againſt the Carthaginians in Spain: of Sulpicius the proconſul, and Attalus king of Aſia, againſt Philip king of Macedonia, in behalf of the Ætolians. A triumph being voted to M. Livius and Claudius Nero, the former, who had acted only in his own province, rides in a chariot drawn by four horſes. Nero, who had come into the province of his collegue, and only aſſiſted him in gaining the victory, follows on horſeback. But, even in this inferior appearance, he has more honor and reſpect ſhewn him than his collegue; becauſe he had contributed more than he to the ſucceſs of the campaign. The fire in the temple of Veſta goes out, through the careleſsneſs of the virgin who tended it, for which ſhe is whipt. P. Scipio fights in Spain with the Carthaginians, and in the fifteenth year from the commencement of the war, and the fifth from his going thither, drives the enemy entirely out of it, and recovers it. Sails from Tarraco into Africa, with two ſhips, to Syphax king of Numidia, and makes an alliance with him. There Aſdrubal, ſon of Giſgo, and he lye on the ſame bed at an entertainment. At New Carthage he exhibits a combat of gladiators, in honor of his father and uncle. The combatants are not of the common ſort, but ſuch as entered the liſts either in honor of their general, or to determine ſome private quarrel. In this two petty princes, who were brothers, diſpute their right to the kingdom by dint of ſword. The Romans take Aſtapa; the citizens kill their wives and children, and throw them into a burning pile erected for that purpoſe. Scipio, being ſeized with an inveterate diſtemper, when recovered, quells a mutiny which had broke out in a part of his army, and forces the Spaniſh rebels to ſubmit. A league made with Maſiniſſa a king of Numidia, who promiſes to aſſiſt him in caſe he came to Africa; with the people of Cadiz alſo at the departure of Mago, who receives letters from Carthage, ordering him to go to Italy. Scipio, on his return to Rome, made conſul: Being oppoſed by Q. Fab. Maximus, in his ſuit for Africa to be his province, Sicily only is aſſigned him, with a diſcretionary power to go into Africa, if he judged it for the intereſt of the republic. Mago, ſon of Hamilcar, ſails into Italy from the little Balearean iſland, where he had wintered.

CHAP. I.

M. Livius Salinator, C. Claud. Nero, conſuls. Y. of R. 545. B. J. C. 207.

THOUGH it ſeemed, that Spain would be diſburthened of the war, in proportion as Italy felt more of it's weight by Aſdrubal's going thither, yet all of a ſudden it broke out afreſh in that country, with a flame equal to that of the former. The ſituation of Spain, at this juncture, with regard to the Romans and Carthaginians, was as follows. Aſdrubal, ſon of Giſgo, had retired as far as the ocean and Cadiz; all the coaſt, bordering on our ſea [a] and the eaſtern parts of Spain, were ſubject to Scipio and the Romans. Hanno, the new Carthaginian general, having ſailed from Africa with an army lately raiſed to ſuccede Aſdrubal, ſon of Barcas, joined Mago, and armed a large body of Celtiberians, whoſe country lyes betwixt two ſeas [b]. Scipio detached Marcus Silanus, with about 10000 foot and 500 horſe againſt him. Silanus, notwithſtanding the obſtructions he met with from the roughneſs and narrowneſs of the roads, beſet with thick foreſts, as the moſt part of Spain is, by as long marches as poſſible, got there not only before the couriers, but even the report of his coming; and with ſome Celtiberian deſerters, for his guides, marched on to the enemy. When he was within ten miles of them, the ſame deſerters brought him intelligence, that there were two camps pitched upon the road by which he was to paſs; the Celtiberians, to the number of 9000 raw troops on the left, and the Carthaginians on the right. The latter camp was fortified with lines, and ſecured by guards and centinels, according to the moſt exact military diſcipline; but the other was open and defenceleſs, like that of raw and undiſciplined troops, who apprehend leſs danger, becauſe they are in their own country. Silanus thought it adviſeable to attack the latter firſt, and ordered the troops to keep as much to the left as they could, leſt they ſhould be deſcry'd by the Carthaginian centinels. Having ſent a detachment to reconnoitre the ground, he advanced apace towards the enemy.

[a] The *Mediterranean*. [b] The ocean and the river *Ebro*.

HE arrived within three miles of them without being perceived; for it was a hilly country, full of rocks and buſhes on all ſides. Here he ordered his men to ſit down in a hollow and refreſh themſelves. Mean time the ſcouts returned and confirmed the intelligence of the deſerters. In conſequence they threw down their baggage in the center, and, running to arms, marched up to the enemy in order of battle. They were within a mile of them when they were firſt deſcry'd. This ſtruck the enemy with a ſudden panic. On the firſt ſhout and alarm Mago rode up from his camp at full gallop. In the Celtiberian army were 4000 ſhield bearers, and 200 horſe. This complete legion, which was the main of their ſtrength, he poſted in the front, and kept the light-armed men as a body of reſerve. When he had led them out of the camp in that diſpoſition, the Romans had ſcarce let fly a ſhower of arrows among them as they were running from the plain, but immediately the Spaniards fell flat upon the ground, in order to avoid the darts of the enemy, and then all of a ſudden ſtarted up to let fly at the enemy in their turn. The Romans, who were drawn up very cloſe, received this ſhower on their ſhields, which were ſo near, that they almoſt touched. Then both ſides cloſed in ſword in hand. The unevenneſs of the ground deprived the Celtiberians, whoſe manner of fighting was to advance and retire again by turns, of the advantage that uſually derived to them from their evolution, and but little incommoded the Romans, who were accuſtomed to ſtand firm in battle, except that the narrowneſs of the ground and buſhes ſometimes broke their ranks; ſo that they were obliged to fight one with one, or two with two, as if they had been purpoſely matched. The enemy being thus prevented from flying, were in a manner delivered up bound to be ſlaughtered. By this time the greateſt part of the Celtiberian ſhield bearers, being put to the ſword, the light-armed troops and Carthaginians, who came to their ſupport from the other camp, fell in the action, except about 2000 foot, and all

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II. the cavalry, who fled with Mago at their head upon the very firſt encounter. The other general Hanno, and ſuch as came laſt up when the battle was juſt ended, were taken priſoners. Almoſt all the cavalry and veteran infantry went in purſuit of Mago, and in ten days march came into a diſtrict of Cadiz where Aſdrubal was. The Celtiberians, who were undiſciplined troops, made their eſcape into the neighboring woods, and from thence home. Though this very ſeaſonable victory put an end to a very conſiderable war, that had already broke out, yet farther it cruſhed the ſeeds of a ſtill more important one, which would have appeared afterwards, if the Carthaginians, after having excited the Celtiberians to take up arms, could have prevailed with other ſtates to revolt. After having beſtowed the moſt ſincere and obliging encomiums on Silanus, Scipio, conceiving hopes of utterly exterminating the remains of the war, if he did not himſelf fruſtrate them by his delays, advanced into the Further Spain in queſt of Aſdrubal. The Carthaginian happened then to be incamped in Bætica, to keep his allies firm to his intereſt. But decamping ſuddenly, he retired as far as the Ocean and Cadiz with ſo much precipitation that it ſeemed rather a flight than a march. But conſidering that, as long as he ſhould keep his army together, he would be the ſole butt of the war, before he paſſed the ſtreight to Cadiz, he diſperſed his army through the ſeveral cities, that they might ſhelter themſelves within the walls, and at the ſame time defend the cities againſt the enemy.

CHAP. III. SCIPIO, perceiving that the war was now divided, and that to carry his arms to one town after another, would be a tedious work, and of little conſequence, retired. However, not to leave that whole country expoſed to the enemy, he ſent his brother L. Scipio with 10000 foot and 1000 horſe, to lay ſiege to the moſt opulent city in that part, which the Barbarians commonly call Aurinx [a]. It is ſituated upon the confines of the Maſſians [b], a nation of Spain.

[a] See vol. iv. book 24. c. 42. [b] *Maxilva* according to *Ptolemy*.

This

This is a fruitful country, and abounds with ſilver mines. In this ſtrong place Aſdrubal had ſhut himſelf up, and from it made excurſions upon the inland country. Scipio, having encamped before it, ſent a trumpet up to the walls to try if they were diſpoſed to ſurrender, before he ſhould inveſt it, and to adviſe them to make trial of the alliance rather than the force of the Romans. Upon their refuſal, he drew lines of circumvallation and contravallation round it, and divided his army into three parts, that one third might be always employed in the attacks while the other two reſted. When the firſt began the aſſault, it proved very hot and doubtful. They found it very difficult to approach the walls, or to fix their ſcaling ladders. For the enemy puſhed down ſuch as were fixed with forked poles made for the purpoſe, and others they drew up to them with iron hooks called by the ancients Lupi, by which the aſſailants were in danger of being hung upon the walls. Scipio, perceiving that one part of his troops was not ſufficient for the aſſault, beſides the advantage the enemy had by fighting from the wall, drew off the firſt diviſion and attacked it with the other two both together. This ſtruck thoſe who were already fatigued, with encountring the firſt party, into ſuch a conſternation, that the townſmen immediately abandoned the walls, and the Carthaginian gariſon, fearing leſt the town ſhould be betrayed, left their poſts and run together into one quarter of it. Then the townſmen were afraid that the Romans upon entering the city would put to the ſword without diſtinction all they met, Carthaginians or Spaniards. Wherefore they opened the gates on a ſudden and ruſhed out in throngs, carrying their ſhields before them to defend them from the darts, and holding up their right hands naked, that the Romans might ſee they had laid down their arms. It is uncertain whether the Romans were at too great a diſtance to obſerve them, or whether they ſuſpected ſome ſnare under this ſhew of peace. Be

CHAP. III.

CHAP. V. that as it will, theſe unfortunate men, who were running for quarter, were attacked and ſlaughtered, as if they had been avowed enemies fighting in battle. The enemy advanced into the city at the ſame gate, and the other gates were cut to pieces with axes and broken down with iron crows. When the cavalry entered the city they had expreſs orders to ride full gallop and take poſſeſſion of the forum. Beſides they were reinforced with a guard of the triarii. The legions ranged over every other place without rifling or putting to the ſword any they met, excepting ſuch as they found in arms. All the Carthaginians were made priſoners, and about 300 of the inhabitants who had ſhut the gates. The city and their effects were reſtored to the reſt. 2000 of the enemy were ſlain in the attack, and about 90 of the Romans.

CHAP. IV. THE taking of this town was ſubject of great joy to thoſe that were concerned in the action, and the great number of priſoners they drave before them, graced their return to the general and the reſt of the army. Scipio beſtowed great encomiums on his brother, and compared his taking of Aurinx with that of Carthage. As the approach of winter hindered his making an attempt on Cadiz, and he could not go in queſt of Aſdrubal's army, that was diſperſed through the whole province, he marched into Hither Spain, ſent the legions into winter quarters, and diſpatched his brother L. Scipio to Rome with Hanno the Carthaginian general and the other noble priſoners. In the mean time he himſelf went to Tarraco. The ſame year Lævinus the proconſul ſailed with the Roman fleet from Sicily into Africa, and committed great devaſtations both in the territories of Utica and Carthage. Nay they drove off booty from the utmoſt borders of the Carthaginian dominions round the walls of Utica. A Carthaginian fleet of 70 ſail met them in their return to Sicily, ſeventeen of them were taken, four ſunk, and the reſt routed and put to flight. Thus the Romans, victorious both by ſea and land, ſailed back to Lilybæum

bæum with a rich booty. Then all the ſeas being ſcoured of the enemy's ſhips, they brought large quantities of their proviſions to Rome.

IN the beginning of that campaign which produced all theſe exploits, P. Sulpicius the proconſul, and king Attalus, who had wintered at Ægina, as we mentioned before, joined their fleets and ſailed over to Lemnos [a] with 25 Roman quinqueremes, and 35 of the king's. Philip, that he might be ready to oppoſe all the enemy's attempts either by ſea or land, went to Demetrias a maritime city. He appointed a day for his army to rendezvous at Lariſſa. Ambaſſadors from all his allies came to Demetrias upon account of the king being there in perſon. For the Ætolians began to take heart on account of their alliance with the Romans, and the arrival of Attalus, and ravaged the lands of their neighbors. Not only the Acarnanes and Bœotians, but even the Eubœans trembled for fear of them. The Acheans likewiſe, beſides the terror of the Ætolian war, were greatly alarmed by Machanidas king of Sparta pitching his camp nigh the confines of the Argives. All theſe nations repreſented to Philip how much danger their cities were expoſed to both by ſea and land, and earneſtly implored his aid. Nay his own kingdom was not free from alarm; for it was reported that Scerdiledus and Pleuratus, with the Medi in Thrace, were in motion and deſigned to make a deſcent upon the adjacent places of Macedonia, upon Philip's being engaged in a diſtant war. The Bœotians and inland people of Greece brought advice that the Ætolians had blocked up the paſs of Thermopylæ [b] by a ditch and rampart to prevent him from relieving the cities of his allies. Such a complication of diſaſters would have rouzed the moſt unactive captain. Philip diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors,

CHAP. V.

[a] One of the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and now called *Limni*, between mount *Athos* and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*.

[b] It is now called by the natives *Lycoſtoma*. On the one ſide are ſteep woody mountains, on the other lakes, mount *Oeta*, and the ſea of *Locris*. It lyes between *Phocis* and *Theſſaly*, and is ſo narrow that a chariot could not paſs conveniently.

CHAP. V.

promiſing, 'as time and opportunity ſhould ſerve, 'to ſuccor them all.' But to relieve what embarraſſed him moſt at that time, he ſent a gariſon to the city of Peparethus in the iſland of that name [a], where he heard Attalus, who had ſailed from Lemnos, ravaged all the country about the city. He alſo detached Polyphas with a ſmall body of troops to Bœotia, and ſent Menippus, one of his generals, to Chalcis [b], with 1000 men that bore little concave bucklers. To them were added 500 men of Agrianum [c], that they might be in a condition to defend the whole iſland. He himſelf ſet out for Scotuſſa, and ordered his Macedonian troops to be brought thither from Lariſſa [d]. Mean time advice was brought him that the Ætolians had appointed a diet at Heraclea, and that king Attalus was to be preſent in perſon to deliberate about the operations of the campaign. For this reaſon he went thither by long marches, to interrupt the diet; but it was broken up before his arrival. Having deſtroyed the corn that was almoſt ripe in the bay of Enianus [e], marched back to Scotuſſa, where leaving the whole army, he went to Demetrias, attended only by a troop of body guards. Then he ſent perſons to make choice of the higheſt ground in Phocis [f], Eubœa and Peparethus, with orders to kindle fires to inform him where to oppoſe the motions of the enemy. He built a watch tower on Tiſeus [g], an exceding high mountain, from whence, upon a ſignal from the fires at a diſtance, he might in a moment know what the enemy were about. The Roman general and king Attalus paſſed over from Peparethus to Nicea [h]. Then they ordered the fleet to ſail to the city of Oreos [i], which is the firſt of all the cities of Eubœa, and ſituated on the left, as one goes to Chalcis and Euri-

[a] An iſland of the *Archipelago*.

[b] It's ancient ſituation agrees very well with that of *Negropont*.

[c] It lay between mount *Rhodope* and mount *Hæmus*.

[d] It ſtood on a hill between the gulfs of *Zeyton* and *Armiro*.

[e] Near mount *Oeta*, and the *Malaic* gulph.

[f] In *proper Greece*.

[g] It's ſituation unknown.

[h] Near the *Malaic gulph*.

[i] Retains it's old name.

pus from the gulph of Demetrias. Attalus and Sulpicius had agreed that the Romans ſhould attack the place by ſea, and the king's troops by land.

THEY were four days before it after the landing of the fleet without attacking it. This time they employed in private conferences with Plator the governor of the city. It has two ſtrong citadels, the one near the ſea, and the other in the middle of the place. From the laſt there is a paſſage under ground leading to the ſea, and ending in a tower on the ſhore five ſtories high, which was a very ſtrong fortreſs. Here was a moſt bloody battle, for the tower was well provided with all kinds of arms, and the enemy had landed all their warlike engines to attack it. While the eyes and attention of all were engaged about this attack, Plator opened the gate of the citadel next the ſea, to the Romans, who poſſeſſed themſelves of it in a moment. The townſmen, being repulſed, retired to the other citadel in the middle of the town. But the gariſon within ſhut the gates againſt them. Thus being expoſed in the ſtreets, they were either killed or taken priſoners. The Macedonian gariſon rallied in a body under the walls. They neither retired precipitately nor made a ſtout reſiſtance. But Plator, having obtained leave of Sulpicius, put them on board ſome veſſels which carried them to Demetrias in Phthiotides. He himſelf went to king Attalus. Sulpicius, fluſhed with this victory ſo eaſily obtained at Oreos, ſailed with his victorious fleet to Chalcis, where the event did not anſwer his expectation. For the ſea, which extends far on both ſides, is here pent up in a narrow canal, and appears at firſt ſight to be two ports opening two different ways; but perhaps there is no road more unſafe for ſhips to ride in. Violent winds blow ſuddenly from the mountains on both ſides; and the waters in the famous ſtrait of Euripus do not ebb and flow ſeven times a day at fixed hours according to common report, but the flux and reflux is very uncertain, and according as the wind drives, the

CHAP. VI.

CHAP. VI.

the waters roll ſometimes from one ſide and ſometimes from another, and fall like cataracts from high mountains, ſo that the ſhips can neither reſt nor be ſafe there night or day. The fleet put into this incommodious road. Beſides the town being ſurrounded by the ſea on one ſide, well fortified on the land ſide, and having a ſtrong gariſon, it proved impregnable, eſpecially as the governor and principal men in it were faithful and honeſt, not falſe and treacherous like thoſe at Oreos. However he took one ſtep ſalutary to the Romans in this raſh enterprize; for perceiving the difficulties attending it, he abandoned it, and unwilling to waſte time in vain, ordered his fleet to ſail to Cynus [a] in Locris, which is a harbor of Opus, a city ſituated a mile from the ſea.

CHAP. VII.

PHILIP ſaw the fires lighted at Oreos, but by the villainy of Plator, the ſignal was given too late from the beacon: beſides as he was not a match for the enemy by ſea, he could not eaſily land in that iſland. Thus that opportunity was loſt by delays. But receiving the ſignal to relieve Chalcis, he flew thither with all expedition. For though Chalcis be a town of the ſame iſland, yet it is ſeparated from the continent by ſo narrow a ſtreight that it had a communication by a bridge, and was more acceſſible by land than ſea. Wherefore Philip having deſtroyed the fort, and routed the Ætolians who guarded the paſs of Thermopylæ, came from Demetrias to Scotuſſa; from thence he ſet out about the third watch, and driving the enemy in a panic to Heraclea, he himſelf marched upwards of ſixty miles in one day to Elatia [b] in Phocis. The ſame day king Attalus took and rifled the city of Opus. Sulpicius gave king Attalus's troops all the booty in it, becauſe when Oreos was ſacked by the Romans, they had got no ſhare of the plunder. The Roman fleet having retired to Oreos, Attalus, not apprized of Philip's coming, ſpent his time in exacting the ranſom money of the chief men of the city. Philip's march

was

[a] The arſenal of *Opus*, and ſtood on the *Malaic gulph*.

[b] The ſecond city in *Phocis*. Its lands are watered by the *Cephiſus*.

was ſo unexpected, that had not ſome of the Cretans, who had been a foraging at ſome diſtance, perceived the enemy, he might have been ſurprized. Attalus, unarmed and confuſed, ran in all haſte to his ſhips. Philip came up, as they were laboring to ſet their ſhips afloat, and even put the ſeamen into great diſorder from the land. Then he returned to Opus, accuſing both Gods and men for ſnatching ſuch a favourable opportunity out of his hands, and blaming in the heat of his paſſion the Opuntians for having ſurrendered on the firſt approach of the enemy when they might have held out till he came up. Having ſettled affairs about Opus, he repaired to Torone [c]. Attalus went firſt to Oreos, where he was informed that Pruſias king of Bithynia had marched into this country. Laying aſide therefore all concern about the Romans and the Ætolian war, he paſſed over into Aſia, Sulpicius returned with his fleet to Egina, which he had left in the beginning of the ſpring. Philip took Torone with as much eaſe as Attalus had taken Opus. Torone was inhabited by the people of Thebes in Phthiotes, who when their city was taken by Philip, they made an alliance with the Ætolians, who gave them that city, which had been ſacked and plundered in a former war with Philip. Then he marched from Torone, which was taken, as we mentioned above, and retook Triton and Drymas, two ſmall and obſcure towns in Doris. Then he went to Elatia, where he had appointed the ambaſſadors of Ptolemy and the Rhodians to wait for him. When they were treating about putting an end to the Ætolian war, in this diet, where the ambaſſadors that had been at the meeting of the Romans and Ætolians at Heraclea were preſent, they received advice, that Machanidas intended to attack the Eleans, whilſt they were celebrating the Olympick games. Judging he could not prevent this attack, he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors with a favorable anſwer, telling them he was neither the cauſe of that

CHAP. VII.

[c] In *Epirus*, near the mouth of the *Calania*.

war,

CHAP. VII. war, nor would obſtruct a peace if it could be concluded on honorable terms. Then he marched in all haſte through Bœotia, and arrived at Megara [a], and from thence to Corinth. Here he furniſhed himſelf with proviſions, and then advanced to Philus [b], and Phineus [c]. When he arrived at Herea, he was informed, that Machanidas on the report of his march had retired to Lacedæmon in a panic. Then he ſet out for Ægium in order to be preſent at an aſſembly of the Achæans: At the ſame time he expected to find here the Carthaginian fleet, which he had ſent for, in order to form a naval force. The Carthaginians had ſailed to Phocea, and from thence into the ports of the Acarnanes. Here receiving advice that Attalus and the Romans had left Oreos, they apprehended a deſign upon them, and that they ſhould be ſurprized in Rhium, which is the mouth of the gulph of Corinth.

CHAP. VIII. PHILIP was much concerned and chagrined to ſee, that whatever diligence he uſed, he never came in time to execute his projects, and that fortune ſhould elude his expedition by ſnatching every opportunity out of his hands when he was juſt on the point of graſping them. However he concealed his grief from the aſſembly, and ſpoke with an air of elevation. 'I call Gods and men to witneſs, that I 'have not let ſlip any opportunity of action; but 'with the greateſt expedition followed the ſound of 'war. But it is hard to judge whether I have at-'tacked them with more courage than they fled 'with precipitation; ſo Attalus at Opus, Sulpicius 'at Chalcis, and a few days before Machanidas, e-'ſcaped me. But ſure flight will not always ſuccede; 'neither is that to be reckoned a hard war, where 'one can overcome, if he but attack the enemy. 'Yet I have gained a principal point, my enemies 'confeſs they are not a match for me, and I hope 'ere long to obtain ſuch a complete victory, that

[a] Now a paltry town called *Megra*.

[b] Thirty ſtadia from *Corinth* weſtward, near the ſprings of *Aſopus*.

[c] Retains its ancient name.

'they

CHAP. VIII.

'they will fight againſt me with a ſucceſs proportionable to their hopes.' The allies were pleaſed with the king's ſpeech. He reſtored Herea [a] and Triphilia [b] to the Achæans, and gave up Aliphera [c] to the Megalopolitans [d], who ſufficiently proved it was part of their dominions. Then having got from the Achæans three quadriremes and as many triremes, he ſailed to Anticyra [e]. Then with ſeven quinqueremes, and more than twenty barks, which he had ſent to the gulph of Corinth to join the Carthaginian fleet, he made a deſcent at Erythræ, a city of the Ætolians, near Eupalium [f]. He did not ſurprize the Ætolians, for their peaſants, and thoſe that were in the neighboring forts of Potidania and Apollonia, ſaved themſelves in the foreſts and mountains. The cattle which could not be driven off in ſuch a hurry were put on board the ſhips. Having detached Nicias, prætor of the Achæans, to Ægium; with theſe and the reſt of the plunder he ſailed to Corinth, and ordered his infantry to march thence through Bœotia by land. He himſelf ſailed from Cenchrea [g], coaſted along Attica, and the promontory of Sunium [h], and after narrowly eſcaping the enemy's fleet, arrived at Chalcis. Then having applauded their fidelity and bravery, ſince they could not be induced, either by hope or fear, to alter their reſolutions, he exhorted them for the future to continue firmly attached to him, if they would prefer their own condition to that of the Oritani and Opuntians. From Chalcis he ſailed to Oreos, and entruſted with the government of the town thoſe, who upon the taking of it choſe rather to fly, than to ſurrender to the Romans. From Eubœa he went to Demetrias, whence he haſtened to the aid of his

[a] A city of *Arcadia*, in the centre of *Peloponneſus*.

[b] A canton of *Elis*, and called τρια φυλα, from being divided into *three tribes*.

[c] On the confines of *Elis*, near the river *Alpheus*.

[d] *Megalopolis*, was the capital of *Arcadia*, it is now called *Londario*.

[e] Now *Suola*, on the gulph of *Cyrrha*.

[f] Near *Amphiſſus*.

[g] One of the ports of *Corinth*.

[h] *The cape of Pillars*, over-againſt the iſland of *Helena*, in the *Archipelago*.

allies.

allies. At Caſſandrea he begun to build a hundred galleys, and for that purpoſe employed a great number of ſhipwrights. Since the departure of Attalus and the ſeaſonable ſupply he had brought his allies, had ſettled his affairs in Greece, he returned to his own kingdom to make war againſt the Dardani.

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ABOUT the end of the campaign which produced theſe tranſactions in Greece, one Q. Fabius Maximus, a lieutenant general, was ſent to Rome by M. Livius the conſul, to inform the ſenate, that he thought L. Porcius with his legions were ſufficient to keep Gaul in obedience. He therefore begged to be recalled with the conſular army. The ſenate ordered not only M. Livius to return to the city, but likewiſe his collegue C. Claudius. However the decree made this difference between them, that the army of M. Livius ſhould return, but Nero's remain in the province to be a check to Hannibal. The conſuls agreed by a letter, that as they had carried on the war unanimouſly, ſo though they came from different Countries, yet they ſhould enter the city at the ſame time, and that he who came firſt to Preneſte, ſhould wait for his collegue there. It happened that they both arrived there the ſame day. They ſent an expreſs before them, to aſſemble the ſenate at the temple of Bellona within three days. The people came out in crouds to meet them when they drew near the city. They were not content in general to welcome them, but each by himſelf eagerly deſired to kiſs the hands of the victorious conſuls. Some congratulated them upon their return, and others gave them thanks, for preſerving the commonwealth from imminent hazard. When, according to form, the generals had given a narrative of their campaign, they demanded that for their ſucceſs and vigorous defence of the republic, thanks ſhould be given to the immortal Gods, and at the ſame time they ſhould enter the city in triumph. The ſenate anſwered, their requeſt ſhould be granted, firſt in honor of the Gods, and next in regard to their own merit. Thus a

ſup-

ſupplication was ordered in both their names, and a triumph appointed to them both. Since they had acted unanimouſly in the war, they would ſhare equally in the triumph, and therefore agreed, 'That 'ſince the victory had been gained in Livius's pro-'vince; ſince the day of action had happened to 'be appointed under his auſpices; ſince his army 'had come to Rome, while that of Nero could not 'leave the province; he ſhould enter the city 'in a chariot drawn by four horſes, followed by 'his army, and C. Claudius on horſeback without 'any ſoldiers.' The triumph being thus concerted added greatly to the honor of them both, but in particular of him, who though ſuperior to his collegue in point of merit, yet yielded to him in point of external pomp. They ſaid, 'This hero on horſe-'back croſſed all Italy in ſix days, and engaged Aſ-'drubal in Gaul that very day, in which Hannibal 'imagined he had been encamped oppoſite to him 'in Apulia. So that one conſul in both parts of I-'taly had made head againſt two great generals, two 'illuſtrious captains, deceiving the one, and fighting 'the other in perſon. The very name of Nero was 'ſufficient to keep Hannibal within his camp, and 'his arrival had entirely defeated Aſdrubal. Let 'the other conſul ride in a pompous chariot drawn 'by as many horſes as he pleaſes, while the really 'triumphant hero rides through the city on horſe-'back. Nero, though on foot, would be honored 'and reſpected not only for the laurels he had reap-'ed in the war, but for his modeſty in not being 'concerned at the preferable luſtre of his collegue's 'triumph.' The ſpectators talked in this manner as they followed Nero through the city into the capitol. The conſuls brought into the treaſury 3000000 ſeſterces and 80000 aſſes of braſs [a]. M. Livius gave his ſoldiers 56 aſſes apiece [b], and C. Claudius promiſed as much to his when he ſhould return to the army. It was remarked that day that the ſoldiers

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[a] 24478 l. 1 s. 8 d. Arbuth. [b] 1 l. 12 s. 8 d.

were

CHAP. IX. were more ſatyrical upon C. Claudius, than on their own conſul. That the horſe highly extolled L. Veturius, Q. Cæcilius, two lieutenant generals, and that they entreated the commons, to elect theſe two conſuls next year. The conſuls ſeconded their requeſt; and next day at an aſſembly of the people boaſted much of the valor and faithful ſervices of theſe two officers in particular.

CHAP. X. THE time of the comitia now approaching, it was reſolved to have a dictator to preſide in them. C. Claudius the conſul nominated M. Livius his colM. Livius, dictator, Q. Cæcilius, general of horſe. legue to that office, and he choſe Q. Cæcilius general of horſe. The dictator transferred the faſces to L. Veturius, and Q. Cæcilius the preſent general of horſe. Then the prætors were choſen. C. Servilius, L. Veturius, and Q. Cæcilius, conſuls. Y. of Rome, 546. B. J.C. 206. M. Cecilius Metellus, Titus Claudius Aſellus, and Q. Mamilius Turinus, then edile. When theſe elections were finiſhed, the dictator demitted his office, and diſbanding the army, by order of the ſenate went into Hetruria, to enquire, what ſtates of that province, and of Umbria, had formed a plot to revolt from the Romans, and join Aſdrubal on his arrival, and which of them had ſupplied him with men, proviſions, or any other neceſſaries. Theſe were the tranſactions at home and abroad this year. The Roman games were celebrated thrice over by Cn. Servilius Cepio, and Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, curule ediles; and the plebeian games as often, by the plebeian ediles Manius Pomponius Matho, and Q. Manilius Turinus. In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, and conſulate of L. Veturius Philo, and Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the province of the Bruttii was aſſigned them both, to proſecute the war againſt Hannibal. Then the prætors drew lots, M. Cæcilius Metellus got the juriſdiction of the city, and Q. Mamilius that of foreigners; C. Servilius, Sicily; and T. Claudius, Sardinia. The armies were diſtributed in the following manner. To one of the conſuls was aſſigned that commanded by C. Claudius, conſul of the preceding year, and to the other the army commanded by Q. Clau-

Q. Claudius the pro-prætor. Each consisted of two legions. M. Livius the pro-consul, who was continued in command another year, was to receive the two legions of Volones in Hetruria under C. Terentius the pro-prætor. Q. Mamilius, having resigned his office to his collegue, was ordered into Gaul with the army commanded by L. Portius the pro-prætor to ravage those parts of it which upon the arrival of Asdrubal had gone over to the Carthaginians. C. Servilius was to guard Sicily with the two legions that had fled from Cannæ, as C. Mamilius had done before. The old army commanded by A. Hostilius was called out of Sardinia; and the consuls raised a new legion, to send thither with Titus Claudius. Q. Claudius was continued in office for another year, that he might have Tarentum, as was C. Hostilius Tubulus, that he might get the province of Capua. M. Valerius the pro-consul, who had been appointed to defend the sea coast about Sicily, was ordered to give C. Servilius 30 ships, and to return to the city with the rest of the fleet. CHAP. X.

AS the state was so anxious about the war, looking on the Gods as authors both of their miseries and happiness, many prodigies were reported. The temple of Jupiter at Terracina was struck with lightning, and that of mother Matuta, at Satricum. Two serpents creeping in the porch of Jupiter's temple, alarmed the Satricans. Accounts arrived from Aretium, that the ears of corn appeared of a bloody color to the reapers. At Cære a pig was brought forth with two heads, and a lamb with the marks of both sexes. Two suns were seen at Alba, and a sudden light had enlightned the whole horizon in the night time at Fregellæ. An Ox spoke in the Roman fields, and the altar of Neptune, in the Circus Flaminius, sweated. The temples of Ceres, Salus, and Quirinus were struck with lightning. The senate ordered the consuls to offer the larger kind of sacrifices, and observe a supplication for one day to expiate these prodigies. But all the prodigies which were seen both at home and abroad, CHAP. XI.

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did not occaſion ſo much dread and alarm, as the going out of the fire in the temple of Veſta. The veſtal by whoſe negligence this had happened, and who had the care of the fire that night, was ſcourged with rods by order of P. Licinius the pontifex maximus. Though the Gods had no hand in this accident, but it was entirely owing to human negligence; yet a particular ſupplication was ordered to be made to Veſta, and the larger ſacrifices offered. Before the conſuls took the field, the Senate ordered them, 'To ſend back to their farms in the country the 'peaſants who had retired to the city on occaſion 'of the war. By the bleſſing of the Gods, Rome 'and Latium were no longer the ſeat of the 'war, and now they might dwell in the coun-'try with ſafety. It was reaſonable they ſhould be 'as mindful to cultivate Italy, as Sicily.' But what rendred their re-eſtabliſhment difficult, was, that the war had carried off moſt of the people of free condition who applied themſelves to huſbandry, and there were not a ſufficient number of ſlaves to be had; beſides the cattle had been driven off, and the farms either ruined or burnt in many places. Notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the conſuls by their authority compelled a great number to return into the country. The ambaſſadors from Placentia and Cremona moved this affair firſt. They complained that the neighboring Gauls had made inroads into their country, and pillaged it: That a great number of their farmers had left them, their cities were depopulated, and their territory a mere deſert. Mamilius the prætor was ordered to defend the colonies from the enemy. The conſuls, by a decree of the ſenate, ordered all the citizens of Cremona and Placentia to return to their farms againſt a fixed day. As ſoon as ſpring returned, the conſuls took the field, Q. Cecilius the conſul at the head of the army C. Nero had commanded, and L. Veturius of that of Q. Claudius the pro-prætor. They completed their legions with the levies they themſelves had

had made. Then they marched to the country of Conſentia, and ravaged it far and wide. When they were loaded with booty, the Bruttii and Numidian ſlingers attacked them in a defile, and not only the booty, but even the ſoldiers themſelves were endangered. However the alarm was greater than the damage they ſuſtained. For the legions, having ſent the booty before them, eſcaped ſafe. Then they marched againſt the Lucanians. All that Nation ſurrendered to the Romans at diſcretion without fighting. CHAP. XI.

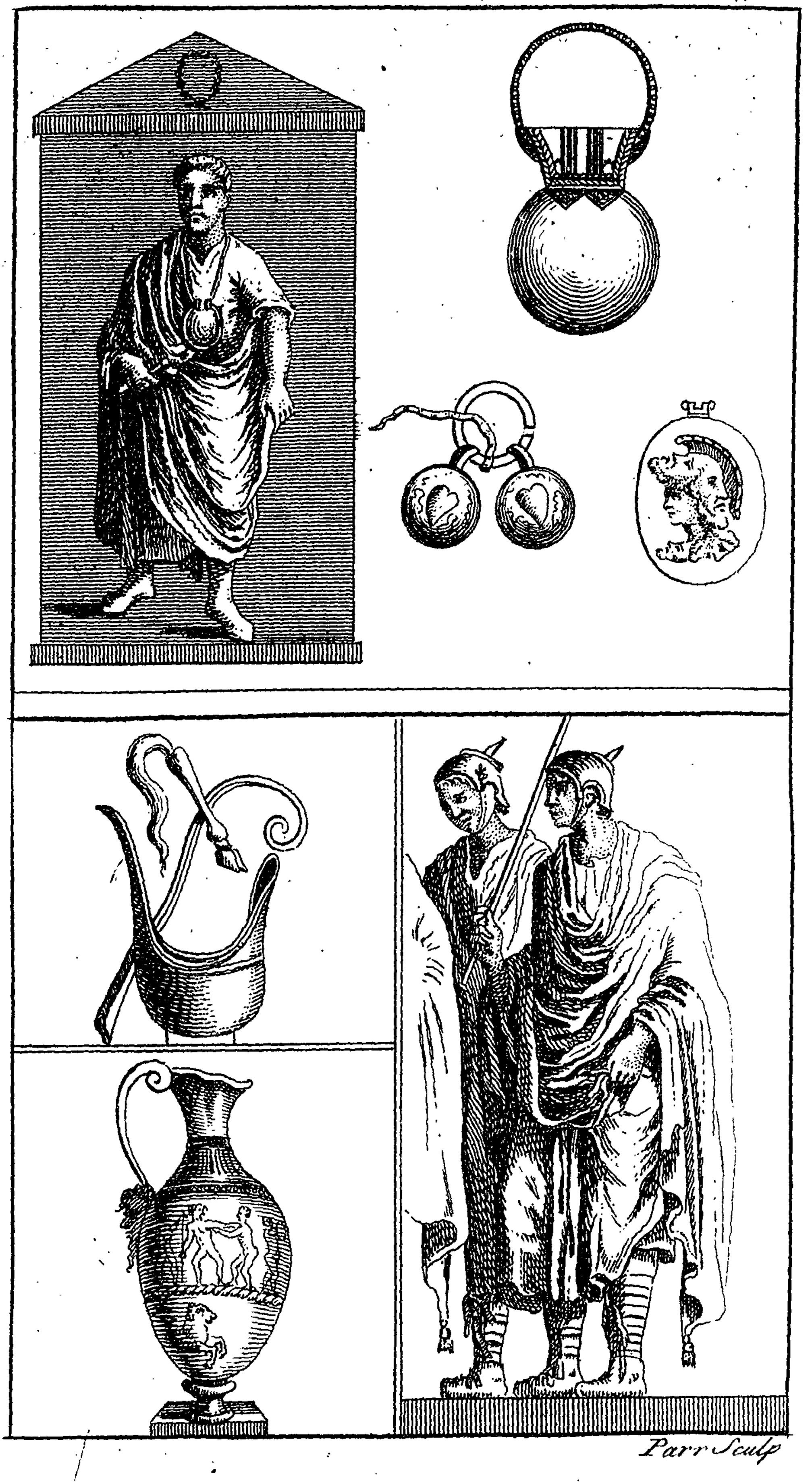
THIS year paſſed without any action between them and Hannibal. For that general, after the death of his brother and the loſs of his army, did not expoſe himſelf to be attacked. Neither did the Romans provoke him, while he lay quiet, ſo formidable was he to them, though all his affairs were on the decline. It is a queſtion, whether he appeared greater in proſperity or adverſity. Let us view him with admiration, during thirteen years making war in a foreign and diſtant country with various ſucceſs, at the head of an army compoſed not of Carthaginian citizens, but a mixed body of different nations, who differed in laws, manners, language, habit, arms, cuſtoms, religion, and even Gods; yet ſo effectually united, that, during ſo many years, they never quarrelled among themſelves or mutinied againſt their general, though they often wanted both proviſions and pay in an enemy's country, the want of which in the firſt Punic war had occaſioned innumerable and terrible miſunderſtandings between the generals and ſoldiers. But after he had loſt his only reſource by the death of Aſdrubal and the defeat of his army, and was reduced to retreat into a little corner of Bruttium, and to abandon all the reſt of Italy, is it not ſurpriſing, that no mutiny ſhould ariſe in his camp? Beſides he had no proſpect of getting proviſion for his troops, except from Bruttium, which, though it had been all cultivated, was not ſufficient to have ſubſiſted ſuch a numerous army. But in fact a great part of their youth had been taken from agri- CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII. culture to ſerve in the wars; moreover in time of war this people uſed to ſubſiſt entirely on plunder. The Carthaginians at home were ſo entirely engroſſed by projects for preſerving Spain, that they ſent him no ſupplies, as if he had abounded in every thing in Italy. The affairs in Spain, in reſpect to the Carthaginians, were almoſt in the ſame ſituation as thoſe of Italy; for having been defeated and their general taken, they there alſo had been obliged to retire to the extremities of the province and the coaſts of the ocean. All the difference was, that Spain, as well on account of the genius of it's people, as it's natural ſituation, was far more proper for reviving a war, not only than Italy, but even than any other country in the univerſe. In conſequence, though it was the firſt province upon the continent which the Romans entered, it was the laſt they entirely reduced; and that not till the preſent age in the reign of Auguſtus. There Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſgo, the moſt illuſtrious of the Carthaginian generals next to the Barcinian family, being returned from Cadiz, and hoping, with the aſſiſtance of Mago the ſon of Hamilcar, to revive the war, made great levies in the further province, and ſet on foot an army of 50000 foot, and 4500 horſe. Authors are agreed as to the number of the cavalry. But ſome ſay that 70000 foot marched to Silpia [a]. There the two Carthaginian generals encamped in a vaſt plain, reſolved to venture a battle.

CHAP. XIII. SCIPIO, having got notice of this great armament, reflected that he was not in a condition to make head againſt ſuch numerous forces with the Roman legions; if he did not oppoſe them with his Spaniſh auxiliaries, at leaſt in appearance, without depending ſo much on them, as to put it in their power, by changing ſides, to ruin him, as they had done his father and uncle. Having deputed Silanus to Colchas, who was ſovereign of twenty eight cities, to receive the infantry and horſe, he had promiſed to

[a] A city bordering on *Eſtramadura*, and near *Cordoua*.

raiſe



Parr Sculp

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raiſe for him during the winter, he ſet out from Tarraco, and, receiving reinforcements from the ſtates that lay in his rout, arrived at Caſtulo. Thither Silanus brought 3000 foot and 500 horſe. Then Scipio advanced as far as Bæcula [a] with all his forces, amounting to 45000, including his own troops and thoſe of his allies. Mago and Maſiniſſa attacked them with their cavalry while they were encamping, and had certainly put them into diſorder, had not a body of horſe, which Scipio had poſted behind a little hill, ſuddenly fallen upon and routed them. At the firſt onſet they routed thoſe of them that were fartheſt advanced, and had approached the rampart to diſturb his pioneers. But the battle was long diſputed with thoſe who had advanced in order. Yet when the light-armed troops were ordered to advance from their poſts, and the pioneers in arms from their work, the freſh men together with the wearied, in a large body, ruſhing to the charge, put the Carthaginians and Numidians to flight. At firſt they retired in good order, without breaking their ranks through fear or precipitation. But when the Romans charged their rear briſkly, they, not able to withſtand their force, obſerved no order, every one running to the place of ſafety that was next him. Though the Romans were fluſhed, and the Carthaginians diſheartened, with the ſucceſs of this rencounter, yet for ſome days following there happened many ſkirmiſhes betwixt the horſe and light-armed troops of the two armies.

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AFTER both ſides had ſufficiently tried their force in many ſlight ſkirmiſhes, Aſdrubal was the firſt that drew out his troops in order of battle. The Romans immediately did the ſame. Both armies ſtood under arms before their reſpective entrenchments till evening, without offering to fight, when Aſdrubal firſt, and then Scipio, retired to their camps. This they continued for ſeveral days without coming to action. The Carthaginian was generally firſt in

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[a] On the eaſtern confines of *New Caſtile*.

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the field, and the firſt who ſounded a retreat to his men fatigued with ſtanding. None on either ſide quitted their poſt, or threw a dart, or ſo much as ſpoke one word. On the one ſide the Romans, and on the other the Carthaginians, mixed with Africans, formed the main body. The Spaniſh allies compoſed the wings of both armies. The elephants, poſted in the front of the Carthaginians, appeared at a diſtance like caſtles. It was even aſſerted in both camps, that the troops would engage in the order they had been hitherto drawn up; and that the Romans and Carthaginians who were in the centre, and were principally concerned in this war, ſhould engage with equal reſolution and force of arms. When Scipio underſtood that this report was firmly believed, he purpoſely changed the whole diſpoſition of his army, on the very day they came to a battle. Over night he ordered, that the men ſhould refreſh themſelves, and the horſes be fed and ready ſaddled and bridled before day. It was ſcarce light when he detached all his horſe, with the light-armed ſoldiers, to attack the Carthaginian poſts. A moment after he himſelf advanced with the heavy-armed legions poſting them contrary to the firm expectation of the enemy and his own troops, the Romans upon the wings, and the Spaniards in the centre. Aſdrubal rouzed by the ſhouts ſet up by Scipio's horſe, immediately quitted his tent. As ſoon as he perceived the Romans before the entrenchments, his own men in diſorder, the glittering enſigns of the legions at ſome diſtance, and the whole plain covered with the enemy, he detached his whole cavalry againſt that of Scipio. He himſelf quitted the lines at the head of his infantry, without changing his former order of battle. The battle was long diſputed between the horſe; nor could they alone terminate it, becauſe thoſe that gave way, which happened alternately on both ſides, found an aſſured retreat with their infantry: But when the two main bodies were not above 500 paces from each other, Scipio founded a retreat, ordering the legions

to

to open, and receive the cavalry and light-armed foldiers into the interval. Then he divided the horfe into two fquadrons, which he poſted as a corps de reſerve behind the two wings. When he was upon the point of charging the enemy, he commanded the Spaniards in the centre to march ſlowly. From the right, where he commanded in perſon, he ſent to tell Silanus and Marcius to extend their left wing in the ſame manner as they ſhould ſee him extend the right, and to charge with the nimbleſt and freſheſt of their troops before the centre battalions ſhould come to engage. When the wings were thus extended, they advanced apace to the charge with three cohorts of foot, three ſquadrons of horſe, and the light-armed companies, while the reſt followed in a curve line. Their centre was hollow like the concave ſide of a creſcent, becauſe the Spaniards marched ſlowly according to orders, and the wings had already engaged. The Carthaginians and Africans, the enemy's principal ſtrength, were not within the diſcharge of darts, and dared not advance to the wings to aſſiſt thoſe who were at blows, leſt they ſhould leave their centre expoſed and uncovered to the enemy, who were advancing to charge it. While the wings were hotly engaged, the cavalry and light-armed troops, who had fetched a compaſs, charged the enemy in the flank, while the cohorts puſhed them vigorouſly in the front to ſeparate them from the main body.

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THUS the battle became very unequal, both becauſe the Balearean ſlingers and the Spaniſh recruits had to deal with Roman and Latin veterans, and becauſe being the heat of the day Aſdrubal's army began to grow languid, as they had been ſurprized in the morning, and forced to take the field before they had refreſhed themſelves. Scipio had purpoſely delay'd coming to action till the day was far advanced; for it was one o'clock before the foot on the wings engaged, and ſomewhat later before the main bodies came to blows, ſo that they were faint and worn out with the heat of the day, ſtanding

CHAP. XV.

CHAP. XV.

ſo long under arms, hunger and thirſt, before they encountered the enemy. Accordingly they ſtood leaning on their ſhields. Beſides the elephants, being affrighted at the ſudden charge of the horſe, velites and light-armed troops, ruſhed from the wings upon the main body. The ſtrength and courage of the Carthaginians being exhauſted, they gave way, but in good order, and without being broken, as if it had been by order of the general. But the victors puſhed on with more vigor, when they found the enemy yield, and unable eaſily to ſtand againſt them. And notwithſtanding all Aſdrubal's endeavors and remonſtrances to his troops, that there was a ſafe retreat for them on a hill behind, if they would retire ſlowly, yet fear prevailing over ſhame, and ſeeing ſuch as were next the enemy give way, they immediately fled with the greateſt precipitation. They never ſtopt till they came to the foot of the hill, and then began to rally while the Romans hovered in purſuing them thither. But ſeeing them briſkly advancing again, they renewed their flight and run precipitately to their camp. The Romans approached ſo near and with ſo great fury, that they had certainly made themſelves maſters of their lines, had not they been prevented by ſo violent a rain, as commonly happens when the ſun ſhines hot through black clouds, that it was not without great difficulty that the victors themſelves regained their camp. Beſides ſome were ſo ſuperſtitious, that they would do nothing more that day. The Carthaginians, though fatigued with action and covered with wounds, and invited by the night and rain to take their neceſſary reſt, had not leiſure from duty, as they apprehended themſelves in danger of being attacked in their lines by the enemy at break of day. They ſtrengthened their entrenchments with ſtones from the adjacent plains, reſolving to ſkreen themſelves by a rampart from an enemy whom they could not reſiſt by arms. But the allies revolting, it was ſafer for them to fly than continue there. Attanes, a petty king of the Turdetani,

tani, was the firſt who abandoned Aſdrubal, and went over to the enemy with a great number of his men. Soon after the governors of two ſtrong cities ſurrendered them and their gariſons to the Romans, ſo he decamped the night following, to prevent the infection which had ſeized their minds from ſpreading farther.

CHAP. XVI.

AT day break Scipio, being informed of the enemies retreat, ordered his cavalry to purſue. They marched with ſuch expedition, that had they kept the right road, they would certainly have overtaken them. Their guides told them there was a ſhorter way to the river Betis, where they might attack them in their paſſage. But Aſdrubal, being intercepted from paſſing the river, turned ſhort towards the ocean. As he fled with great precipitation, he left the Roman legions ſomewhat behind. But the horſe and light armed troops haraſſed them, ſometimes in the rear, and ſometimes in flank, and retarded their flight till the legions came up. And it was no longer a battle, but a direct carnage, till the general himſelf, exhorting his troops to fly, eſcaped into the neighboring mountains, with a body of about 6000 men half armed. All the reſt were either killed or taken. The Carthaginians fortified a camp in all haſte upon the ſummit of the higheſt hill. Here they found it eaſy to defend themſelves, as the enemy attempted in vain to climb up it. But as they could not hold out above a few days on ſuch a poor barren ground, they deſerted in crowds to the enemy. At laſt their general abandoned his army, got to the ſea coaſt, which was near, during the night, and embarked on board ſhips that carried him to Cadiz. Scipio having received advice of Aſdrubal's flight, left 10,000 foot, and a 1000 horſe with Silanus, to block up their camp. As for himſelf, in ſeventy days he returned to Tarraco with the reſt of his troops, to enquire into the conduct of the ſtates and petty princes, in order to reward or puniſh them according to their merits. After his departure, Maſiniſſa

CHAP. XVI.

niſſa had a ſecret interview with Silanus, and went to Africa with a ſmall number of his ſubjects, to prevail with his whole nation to ſupport the ſide he had now embraced. His reaſons for this ſudden change did not then appear clearly; but the conſtant fidelity with which he perſevered in amity with the Romans to the end of his life, that was very long, is a proof that he acted from ſufficient motives. Mago followed Aſdrubal to Cadiz, with the ſhips the latter had ſent back to him. All the reſt of the Carthaginian party, abandoned by their leaders, went over to the Romans or fled to the neighboring ſtates. They were neither conſiderable for number or ſtrength. In this manner Scipio drove the Carthaginians out of Spain, five years after he took upon him the command of the army in that province, and thirteen after the beginning of the war. Not long after Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, and informed him that the war was entirely terminated.

CHAP. XVII.

SOME time after, L. Scipio arrived at Rome, whither his brother had ſent him with a great number of illuſtrious priſoners, and with news of Spain's being totally ſubdued. While all the world extolled to the ſkies the wiſdom and valor of P. Scipio, he himſelf who performed the actions that were the ſubjects of theſe applauſes, with unabating ambition of true glory and fame, conſidered the conqueſt of Spain only as a ſlight ſpecimen of the grand enterprizes he meditated. He extended his views to Africa, nay even to old Carthage, and the glory of terminating the Punic war, as what would acquire him immortal honor and reputation. Judging it therefore neceſſary to pave the way for theſe grand events, that he ſhould gain the affections of ſome of the kings and nations there, his firſt attempt was upon Syphax king of the Maſæſylians. His dominions bordered on Mauritania, which lyes over-againſt that part of Spain where New Carthage ſtands. He indeed was at that time in alliance with the Carthaginians. But Scipio, convinced that he would not obſerve

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obſerve it more faithfully than the Barbarians commonly did, whoſe fidelity depended upon fortune, deputed Lælius to him with a conſiderable preſent. Conſidering that the affairs of the Romans proſpered, while on the contrary thoſe of the Carthaginians were continually declining both in Spain and Italy, he joyfully conſented to conclude an alliance with the Romans. However, he declared he would not treat but with the Roman general in perſon. Lælius returned, having only made Syphax engage for the ſafety of Scipio's perſon, in caſe he ſhould determine to come to him. That prince's amity was of the laſt importance to Scipio's views upon Africa. He was the moſt powerful king of the country. He already had been at war with the Carthaginians. His dominions were commodiouſly ſituated in reſpect of Spain, from which they were only ſeparated by a narrow ſtreight. Scipio judged that ſuch an advantage was well worth expoſing himſelf even to a conſiderable danger, ſince he could not effect it otherwiſe. Wherefore leaving, for the defence of Spain, L. Marcius and M. Silanus at New Carthage, whither he had by long marches come by land from Tarraco, he ſet out from Carthage, accompany'd by C. Lælius, in two quinqueremes in ſo calm weather, that they row'd moſt part of the way, aſſiſted ſometimes by gentle breezes till they landed in Africa. At the ſame time it happened that Aſdrubal the ſon of Giſgo, the Carthaginian general, who had lately been reduced to abandon Spain, arrived at that port with ſeven triremes, and rode at anchor cloſe to the ſhore, when he perceived two Roman gallies out at ſea. Not doubting but they were enemies, whom he could eaſily deſtroy by his ſuperior number before they could get aſhore, he attempted to weigh, but to no purpoſe, by the hurry and confuſion of his mariners and ſailors endeavoring to get ready their ſhips and arms. Beſides as the breeze blew more briſkly from the ſea, it brought Scipio into port, with his quinqueremes, before the Carthaginians could weigh their anchors. None of them durſt

durſt create any diſturbance after they were in the king's port. Aſdrubal landed firſt and went to the king, whither Scipio and Lælius ſoon followed him.

CHAP. XVIII.

SYPHAX was highly pleaſed (and in truth he had reaſon) to ſee the generals of the two moſt powerful ſtates of the univerſe, come in one day to court his alliance. He invited them both to lodge in his palace, and ſeeing they were under one roof, endeavored to perſuade them to a conference to terminate all their differences. But Scipio excuſed himſelf, by declaring, that he had no perſonal enmity to Aſdrubal, neither could he treat with an enemy on affairs of ſtate without permiſſion from the ſenate. However at the king's earneſt requeſt, that, to prevent an appearance of his excluding either from his table, he would conſent to ſit at the ſame with Aſdrubal, he comply'd. Accordingly they both ſuped with the king, and at his deſire lay on the ſame ſopha [a]. Scipio behaved with ſo much politeneſs, and ſhewed ſuch addreſs in giving the bent to people's minds, that during the entertainment he not only charmed the Barbarian prince, yet a ſtranger to Roman manners, but even conciliated the eſteem of Aſdrubal his mortal enemy. The Carthaginian owned "that "this converſation with Scipio in perſon had given "him an higher idea of his merit than all his ex- "ploits in war. He did not doubt but Syphax "and his kingdom would be entirely devoted to "the Romans, ſuch irreſiſtible addreſs had the Ro- "man to gain the affections; ſo that it was time "to think of preſerving Africa, and not of recover- "ing Spain. For it was not for the ſake of di- "verting himſelf along theſe pleaſant coaſts, or to "gratify his curioſity, that a captain of ſo great abi- "lities had croſſed the ſeas, with two gallies, aban- "doning his troops in a province newly conquered, "expoſing himſelf in an enemy's country, and re- "lying on the faith of a prince, he was unacquainted "with. The deſign of this voyage undoubtedly "was to ſeek means to ſubdue Africa. He knew

[a] The ancients did not ſit at their meals,

"that

" that general had long meditated that conqueſt,
" and openly aſked, why as Hannibal had the bold-
" neſs to carry the war into Italy, Scipio ſhould not
" make repriſals in kind on Afric." Scipio, having concluded a treaty with Syphax, re-embarked, and tho' toſſed with ſtormy and contrary winds, got to the port of Carthagena in four days.

CHAP. XIX.

THOUGH Spain was now delivered from a Carthaginian war, there were ſtill ſome ſtates, whoſe inhabitants remembring the animoſity they had evidenced againſt the Romans, remained quiet only through fear, and not inclination. The greateſt as well as the moſt criminal were Illiturgis and Caſtulo. The latter after having been the ally of the Romans in their proſperity, had quitted them for the Carthaginians, ſoon after the defeat of the Scipios and their armies. The former had even ſignalized their revolt by unheard of cruelty, in maſſacring ſuch of the Romans as, after the loſs of the battle, had come to take ſhelter with them. Scipio, on his firſt arrival in Spain, knew what thoſe people had deſerved, but it was not convenient to puniſh them at a time, when the Roman intereſt was declining in that province. But now, when it's tranquillity was reinſtated, he thought it time to take vengeance on them. Accordingly having ſent for L. Marcius from Tarraco, he ordered him to beſiege Caſtulo with the third part of his troops, and advanced in perſon at the head of the reſt againſt Illiturgis. The inhabitants, from a conſciouſneſs of what they deſerved, had taken the alarm, as if war had been declared againſt them, ſhut their gates, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence. Then Scipio addreſſed his ſoldiers thus. " The Spaniards,
" by ſhutting their gates, ſhew that they have juſt
" ground to be afraid; therefore we ought to ſhew
" more inveteracy againſt them, than againſt the
" Carthaginians. Without reſentment we fought
" with them for ſovereignty and glory. But now
" we are to puniſh cruel and villainous traitors. The

" time

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" time is come to be avenged for the execrable " murder of your fellow ſoldiers, and the treache- " rous deſign againſt your own lives, if you had fled " that way; and to make this people an example, " to deter poſterity, from injuring a Roman citizen " in any condition." Being thus animated by their general's harangue, they diſtributed their ſcaling ladders to men picked out of each company, and divided the army, that Lælius the lieutenant general might command one diviſion. Then they attacked the city in two places at once. It was not any particular general, or the whole body of their nobility that animated them vigorouſly to defend their town, but a conſciouſneſs of their crimes and fear of puniſhment. They told one another, " That this enemy " wanted not a victory, but to bring them to cruel " puniſhment, where every one had death before " him. It was of the laſt moment to them, whether " they ſhould die in the field of battle, where the " common fortune of war ſometimes raiſes the con- " quered, and depreſſes the victors, or whether after " the burning and razing of their city, they ſhould " expire amidſt exquiſite tortures, and their wives " and children be ſpectators of that mournful " ſcene". In conſequence, men, women and children, old and young, made wonderful efforts of courage and ſtrength, handing weapons and ſtones to thoſe that defended the city. Liberty, the keeneſt ſpur to brave minds, was not minded, but they ſet before their eyes moſt dreadful puniſhments and ſhameful deaths. An emulation to expoſe themſelves to danger and fatigue, and the very ſight of one another ſpirited them on. Nay, they behaved with ſuch ardor, that the army which had ſubjected all Spain, was more than once repulſed by the youth of a ſingle city, and ingloriouſly quaked for fear. When Scipio perceived this, apprehending, that this repulſe would diſhearten his troops, and augment the courage of his enemies, he thought proper to act himſelf and ſhare in the danger. After having reproached his ſoldiers

for

for want of ardor he ordered the ſcaling ladders to be brought, and declared that he would mount in perſon, if they heſitated. He was almoſt at the bottom of the wall, when his whole troops, terrified with the danger they ſaw their general expoſed to, cried out with one voice to him to retire; and at the ſame time planted their ladders in ſeveral places, and mounted with great intrepidity. Lælius puſhed the attack on his ſide with great vigor. It was then the beſieged were overpowered, and thoſe who defended the walls having been beat off, the Romans made themſelves maſters of them immediately. During the alarm the citadel alſo was taken on a ſide ſuppoſed to be impregnable. CHAP. XIX.

SOME African deſerters who ſerved in the Roman army, while the inhabitants were engaged defending thoſe places that were in moſt imminent danger, and the Romans preſſing forwards wherever they could force acceſs, perceived a very high place in the city, without fortifications or guards, becauſe it was covered with an high rock. Being light bodied men, and very nimble through much exerciſe, they drove iron ſpikes into the rock, and by means of them and other juttings out of the rock, climbed to the top. They made ſtairs with thoſe ſpikes, fixed at little diſtances, where it was ſmooth and leſs difficult; and they who firſt reached the top, helped the laſt by the hand till they all got up, and then with a ſhout they ran down into the town which was taken by the Romans. Then it was evident, that the town was taken through revenge, rage, and hatred. No body thought of taking priſoners or plunder, though the effects of the inhabitants were at the diſcretion of the ſoldiers. The victors put all to the ſword that came in their way, and killed indifferently men and women, old and young, armed and unarmed, even to infants on the breaſt. They afterwards ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed all that could not be burnt, ſo inveterate were they to eraſe every trace of the city, and utterly exterminate the names of theſe enemies. CHAP. XX.

CHAP. XX.

mies. Scipio then marched to Caſtulo, which was defended not only by the Spaniards of the place, but by the remains of Aſdrubal's army, which had rendezvouzed there after their ſcattered flight. The news of taking and deſtroying Illiturgis had arrived there before Scipio, and filled the place with terror and deſpair. As the caſe of the Carthaginians who were in it was different from that of the inhabitants, and every one thought of his own intereſt without regard to others, their mutual diſtruſt ſoon turned into open diſcord. Cerdubellus publickly perſuaded the Spaniards to ſurrender. Himilco commanded the Carthaginian auxiliaries, which with the city he, upon terms which he ſecretly obtained, delivered up to the Romans. This victory was leſs bloody than the former, and indeed the inhabitants of Caſtulo were leſs criminal than thoſe of Illiturgis, and their voluntary ſurrender had very much abated the rage of the Romans. After this expedition Marcius was detached to reduce ſuch of the Barbarians as were not entirely ſubjected, under the power of the Romans.

CHAP. XXI.

SCIPIO then returned to Carthagena, in order to pay the vows he had made to the Gods, and exhibit combats of gladiators, for which he had cauſed preparations to be made in honor of his father and uncle. They uſed in thoſe combats neither ſlaves nor mercenaries, accuſtomed to ſell their lives for the entertainment of others, but all perſons who willingly offered themſelves, and without any motive of intereſt. Some had been ſent by the petty princes of the country, to give a ſpecimen of the innate valour of their countrymen. Some offered themſelves purely to make their court to Scipio: others, out of bravado and through emulation, had either given or accepted challenges. Some decided ſuits by the ſword, which either they could not, or would not determine otherwiſe, and agreed that the victor ſhould have the thing in diſpute. Amongſt theſe were two perſons of illuſtrious rank, Corbis and Orſua couſin

germans, who agreed to decide their diſputed right to the ſovereignty of Lacibis, [a] by the ſword. Corbis was the eldeſt: Orſua was the ſon of the laſt poſſeſſor; to whom the elder brother had bequeathed that ſovereignty at his death. Scipio endeavored to terminate the diſpute amicably, and to reconcile them. But they declared that their neareſt relations had made them the ſame propoſals, which they would not hearken to, and would have no God or man arbiter of their difference but Mars. The elder preſumed upon his ſtrength, the younger on his youth. The fury with which they fought, chuſing rather to die than be in ſubjection to each other, was at once an affecting ſpectacle to the army, and a profitable proof, how great an evil the deſire of reigning is among mankind. The eldeſt, by his experience in fighting and addreſs, eaſily vanquiſhed the frantic impetuoſity of the younger. The battles of the gladiators were followed by funeral games, as magnificent as they could be in a province and in the camp. CHAP. XXI.

IN the mean time Scipio's lieutenants acted according to orders in the places to which he ſent them. Marcius, having paſſed the river Bætis, which the inhabitants call Certis, recovered two opulent cities by capitulation, without having been obliged to employ force. The city Aſtapa [b] was always in the intereſt of the Carthaginians, but that did not ſo much incenſe the Romans, as that the Aſtapans, the neceſſities of war apart, had a particular grudge againſt them. Their city was neither ſo ſtrong by nature or art, as to make them haughty and inſolent. But their natural diſpoſition, which delighted in robbery, induced them to make inroads upon the territories of the Roman allies that bordered on them, and ſeize the ſtraggling ſoldiers, ſuttlers and merchants that paſſed that way. Beſides they had deſtroyed by ſtratagem a great body of people who travelled through their country in company, becauſe CHAP. XXII.

[a] *Torre de la Cevada*, in *Andaluſia*.
[b] Now *Eſtapa*, on the borders of *Granada* and *Andaluſia*.

CHAP. XXII.

it was unſafe for a few to paſs that way. The Roman army having approached the place in order to attack it, the inhabitants, ſenſible, from a conſciouſneſs of their crimes, that it would not be ſafe for them to ſurrender, and beſides relying little upon the goodneſs of their walls and the force of their arms, formed a cruel and deſperate reſolution againſt themſelves, and every thing belonging to them. They piled up, in the middle of the forum, the richeſt of their moveables, with all their gold and ſilver, placed their wives and children upon the top of them, and ſurrounded the whole with dry faggots and other combuſtibles. They afterwards deſired fifty of their ſtrongeſt young men, well armed, "as long as the "ſucceſs of the battle ſhould be doubtful, to guard "theſe their treaſures, and the perſons of thoſe who "were infinitely dearer to them than all worldly "goods. When they ſhould perceive that all hopes "were loſt, and the city was upon the point of be-"ing taken, they might be aſſured that all who "had engaged would certainly fall in the action: "Therefore they conjured them by all the celeſtial "and infernal deities, that mindful of their liberty, "which that day they would certainly be diveſted "of, either by an honorable death or an infamous "ſlavery, to leave nothing confided to their care on "which the enemy could wreak their fury. And "ſince they had fire and ſword in their hands, like "faithful friends to deſtroy what in any event "muſt periſh, rather than leave them to be ſubjects "of jeſt to a proud and inſolent enemy." They added the moſt horrible imprecations againſt thoſe, whom want of courage and hope of ſaving their lives ſhould prevent from executing the deſign. Then they ſuddenly flung open the gates of the city, and ſally'd out in a body, with the greateſt fury. None of the Roman advanced guard was able to oppoſe them, as they had not in the leaſt dreaded, that they would have made ſuch a ſally. Some ſquadrons of horſe, with the light armed troops, quitted the camp

that

that moment to meet them. They fought with so much ardor and fury as not to obſerve the due order of battle. The horſe, who had made the firſt attack, being vigorouſly repulſed, put the light armed troops into a fright, and the Romans had been obliged to fight under their intrenchments, if the flower of the legions had not been formed in the little time they had, and marched againſt the enemy. Nevertheleſs even they trembled when they ſaw the Aſtapans ruſhing in blind deſpair upon death and wounds. But at length theſe veteran ſoldiers, oppoſing a determinate bravery to the temerity of thoſe furious people, by the ſlaughter of the foremoſt ſoon abated the violence of thoſe that followed. Seeing, however, that none gave way, and that determined to die they ſuffered themſelves to be killed without quitting their poſts, the Roman army, extending their wings as it was eaſy for them to do in effect of their great numbers, ſurrounded the enemy in the middle, and killed them all to the laſt man, fighting in form of a circle. CHAP. XXII.

THUS did an incenſed enemy take vengeance on a body of men, who made a bold and reſolute defence in the field; but the maſſacre that was committed in the city was more horrid, for it was fellow citizens that ſlaughtered a multitude of women and children incapable, from their ſex and age, to make any defence; and afterwards threw their bodies, moſt of them ſtill alive, upon a pile purpoſely ſet on fire. The ſtreams of blood for ſome time prevented the pile's taking fire. At length the fifty young men, fatigued with this lamentable ſlaughter, leaped with their arms into the flames. Every thing was executed before the Romans entered the place. They were at firſt ſtruck with horror and aſtoniſhment at the dreadful ſight. But preſently after ſpying the gold and ſilver glittering in the heap of other things, it rouzed their natural avidity. But while they eagerly endeavored to ſnatch it out of the fire, ſeveral periſhed, and others were much hurt by the flames. For thoſe who were next the fire could not CHAP. XXIII.

CHAP. XXIII. fall back for the crowd that preſſed them behind. Thus the city Aſtapa was entirely conſumed by fire and ſword, without the Roman ſoldiers being able to make any advantage of the plunder. As all the reſt of the country ſurrendered through fear, Marcius led back his victorious army to Carthagena, where Scipio expected him. At the ſame time deſerters came from Cadiz, offering to deliver up that city with the Carthaginian gariſon, and the general who commanded it with the fleet, to Scipio. Mago had retired thither after his defeat, and beſides having drawn together ſome ſhips diſperſed upon the ocean, had received ſome ſupplies from the coaſts of Africa, beyond the Straights, and from the neareſt quarters in Spain, by the aſſiſtance of Hanno a Carthaginian admiral. Scipio and the deſerters having mutually pledged their faith, he ſent them back. He detached Marcius with a body of light troops to attack Cadiz by land; while Lælius was to act in concert with him againſt that city by ſea, with ſeven triremes and one quinquereme.

CHAP. XXIV. SCIPIO in the mean time was taken very ill. Rumor made his caſe worſe than it really was, (as it uſually happens through the natural propenſity of mankind) for it exaggerated and magnified it with new circumſtances, and thereby diſturbed the whole province, and eſpecially the moſt remote quarters of it. Hence it appeared, what dangerous calamities would have followed upon the reality of that general's death, as a groundleſs rumor of it was able to raiſe ſuch ſtorms. The allies became unfaithful, and the ſoldiers ſeditious. Mandonius and Indibilis, diſappointed of their hopes, for they aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of Spain, when the Carthaginians ſhould be expelled, made their ſubjects the Lacetani and Celtiberians take arms, and make incurſions upon the territories of the Sueſſitani and Sedetani [a] allies of the Romans. Beſides a mu-

[a] On the ſouth of *Arragon*.

tiny

tiny broke out in the camp near Sucro [a]. A body of 8000 Romans were encamped there to overawe the people on that ſide of the Ebro. Theſe troops began to mutiny before the news of Scipio's illneſs had ſpread, long eaſe, as it uſually happens, having produced licentiouſneſs among them. Accuſtomed in the time of war to live at large in the enemy's country, they ſuffered themſelves with great reluctance to be kept within bounds in time of peace. At firſt they only murmured in ſecret; 'If there ſtill be any 'enemy in the province, ſaid they, why are we 'kept in a ſubjected part of it; if the war is termi-'nated, why are not we ſent back to Italy?' They demanded their pay with more inſolence, than was conſiſtent with the duty and modeſt obedience of well diſciplined ſoldiers. Upon guard they inſulted the legionary tribunes as they went the rounds, and many went out in the night to plunder in the neighboring villages, whoſe inhabitants were allies of the Romans. At laſt, in open day, without regard to orders they quitted the camp, and went where they pleaſed. They ſhewed no regard to military diſcipline, or the command of their officers, but were guided by their own capricious and licentious wills. They however ſtill retained an appearance of a Roman army, ſolely in hope of rendering their tribunes accomplices in their ſedition and revolt. They ſuffered a council of war to aſſemble in the tents of the principes [b], received the watch word from the officers, and mounting guard as uſual. Thus, though in reality they had aboliſhed all diſcipline and command, and were their own maſters, they however retained the appearance of obedient ſoldiers. But at length when they perceived, that their tribunes diſproved their conduct, and were determined to reform it, plainly refuſing to join in their revolt, they openly mutiny'd. They drove their officers out of the principia and camp, and unanimouſly

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[a] Now the *Zucar*, riſes near *Cuenza*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* near *Gandia*.

[b] The tents of the principes were behind thoſe of the generals and tribunes reaching from the right to the left gate of the camp. In them all court marſhals were held.

CHAP. XXIV. nimouſly transferred the command to two private ſoldiers, C. Albius Calinus, and C. Atrius Umber the ringleaders of the mutiny. Theſe two inſolent fellows did not content themſelves with the ornaments of legionary tribunes, but had the impudence to aſſume the badges of ſupreme command, the rods and axes, without conſidering that theſe inſtruments, they employed for keeping others in awe, would ſoon make their own backs ſmart, and ſever their heads from their bodies. A firm belief of the falſe report of Scipio's death had quite blinded their minds, and as ſoon as it ſhould ſpread, they did not doubt but all Spain would be up in arms. By advantage of this commotion, they thought they might not only raiſe contributions from the allies, but alſo rifle the adjacent cities, and that in ſuch a general defection, where every perſon acted as he pleaſed, their crimes would paſs with impunity.

CHAP. XXV. THE mutineers expected every moment freſh accounts, not only of Scipio's death but of his funeral. But they never came, and the idle report vaniſhing, they began to ſeek for the firſt authors of it: Every one ſhifted it from himſelf, and choſe rather to ſeem to have been too credulous in believing a flying rumor, than to have invented it. It was then that the ringleaders of the mutiny, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, began to look on the faſces they had fooliſhly aſſumed with terror, and to tremble at the thoughts of the vengeance lawful authority would ſoon wreak on them. The ſedition if not extinguiſhed, yet was much damped when couriers arrived with certain advice, that Scipio was alive, and like to be perfectly recovered very ſoon. Soon after ſeven legionary tribunes, ſent by Scipio, arrived in the camp. The ſight of theſe officers at firſt incenſed the ſoldiers, but their obliging and mild diſcourſes to ſuch as they knew, ſoon made every body quiet. They mixed themſelves into the rings of ſoldiers, diſcourſing round the commanders tents, or in the quarter of the principes, and in their converſations enquired

quired into the cauſes of their ſudden rage and commotion, without reproaching them for what they had done. The ſoldiers complained 'of their not 'being paid upon the fixed days. At the ſame time 'the Illiturgi had committed the moſt notorious act 'of villainy, after the death of the two Scipios, and 'the defeat of their armies, they had by their va-'lor defended the Roman name, and preſerved the 'province: But though the Illiturgi were puniſhed 'as they deſerved, yet they had received no reward 'for their ſervices.' The tribunes replied, that their complaints were juſt, and that they ſhould not fail to inform their general of them. They were infinitely pleaſed that nothing worſe had happened, and matters had not come to extremities, thanking God, that Scipio and the commonwealth were in a condition to reward their ſervices. Scipio, though greatly experienced in war, yet never having been in the ſtorms of mutiny before, was excedingly embarraſſed, for fear the ſoldiers might carry their ſedition to extremities, or he excede bounds in puniſhing them. He reſolved at this time to act cautiouſly, as he had done at firſt ſetting out. In order to this he ſent collectors to the tributary cities, which gave the ſoldiers hopes, that they ſhould immediately be paid their arrears. Some days after he publiſhed an edict, ordering them to come to Carthagena to receive their pay, either ſeparately by companies, or all together as they ſhould chuſe. The ſedition was already much weakened, and the people of Spain, who had taken up arms, laying them down entirely extinguiſhed it; for Mandonius and Indibilis had no ſooner received advice that Scipio was in perfect health, but they abandoned their enterprize, and returned to their own countries. In effect there was neither Roman nor ſtranger, that the ſoldiers of Scipio could aſſociate in their frantic revolt. After many conſultations they had no reſource, but, which is not the ſafeſt retreat of criminals, to put their fate in the hands of their general, whether he thought fit to uſe a juſt rigor,

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or ſhould incline to clemency of which they did not deſpair. They repreſented to themſelves, that he had frequently pardoned enemies conquered in war. In their ſedition, there had not been a ſword drawn, nor a drop of blood ſhed. That not having puſhed things to extremities, they did not deſerve the moſt rigorous puniſhment. Thus agreeable to the natural propenſity of mankind, to palliate and excuſe their faults, did they flatter themſelves. They were only in doubt whether they ſhould go for their pay all together, or by ſeparate companies. At laſt they choſe what they thought ſafeſt, not to ſeparate.

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ABOUT the very time they were conſulting in this manner, a council of war was held concerning them at Carthagena, where the officers were divided in opinion. Some were for confining the puniſhment to the ringleaders, who were about thirty five in number. Others, that this mutiny, which deſerved rather the name of a rebellion, and ſet the worſt example, required a more general puniſhment. The mildeſt opinion prevailed, that it would be ſufficient to keep the multitude in their duty to puniſh a few. At the breaking up of the council, the ſoldiers who were in Carthagena were ordered to hold themſelves in readineſs to march againſt the revolted Spaniards, and to provide ſubſiſtence for ſeveral days. Then the ſeven legionary tribunes, who had gone to Sucro to quell the mutiny, were ſent to meet the army. The names of five of the ringleaders were given to each of them. Thoſe tribunes, who were the fiteſt for the purpoſe, were ordered to receive and addreſs them kindly, invite them to their houſes, and make them drink plentifully, and then bind them. When the rebels approached Carthagena, they were informed that all the troops Scipio had in that city were to ſet out next day, under the command of Silanus, againſt the Lacetani. This news did not only deliver them from their ſecret dread and anxiety, but occaſioned great joy amongſt them. They imagined that their general, by being left alone, would be more in

in their power than they in his. They entered the city towards evening, and ſaw the troops of Carthagena making all preparations for their departure. They were purpoſely welcomed with kind ſpeeches, in which they were told, that their arrival was very agreeable and advantageous to the general, ſince they had come juſt when the other army was on the point of marching away. Then they refreſhed themſelves. The tribunes, having lodged the ringleaders of the mutiny in the houſes of perſons fit for their purpoſe, had them ſeized and bound. At the 4th watch, the baggage of the army, which as it was pretended was to ſet out, began it's march. At break of day the troops advanced out of the city, but ſtopt at the gate, and guards were poſted at all the other gates, to prevent any one whatſoever from going out. Thoſe who had come the night before were aſſembled, and appeared before Scipio with an air of haughtineſs and arrogance, as if by their cries they would have terrified him. At the ſame time that Scipio aſcended his tribune, the troops, who had been to march out of the city, re-entered it under arms, and ſurrounded the unarmed ſoldiers, aſſembled round their general. Then their inſolence abated, and as they owned afterwards what terrified them moſt was the vigor and healthy look of Scipio, whom they expected to find languid and weak with long ſickneſs, and to ſee his countenance more fierce and enraged, than they had remembered to have ſeen it on a day of battle. He continued ſitting for ſome time without ſpeaking, till he was informed that the authors of the ſedition were brought into the forum, and that all things were ready. CHAP. XXVI.

THEN cauſing a lictor to proclame ſilence, he ſpoke to this effect. 'I never thought when I was 'to addreſs my ſoldiers, I could have been at a loſs 'what to ſay, not that I have ever accuſtomed my-'ſelf more to eloquent harangues, rather than to vi-'gorous actions; but becauſe being from my infancy 'trained up in the camp, I was always accuſtomed CHAP. XXVII.

'to

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'to the diſpoſition and humors of ſoldiers. However at this time both thoughts and expreſſions fail 'me. I do not know what name to give you. Shall 'I call you citizens, after you have rebelled againſt 'your country? Or ſoldiers, after you have thrown 'off your obedience to your general's authority, and 'violated your military oath? Or ſhall I call you 'enemies? Truly I ſee the outſides, the aſpects, the 'habits and mein of citizens; but actions, language, 'and conſpiracies ſhew you to be enemies. For 'wherein have your wiſhes or hopes differed from 'thoſe of the Illergetes and Lacetani. Yet they in-'deed had Mandonius and Indibilis, royal princes, to 'head them in their frantic outrages, whereas you 'transferred the auſpices and chief command to two 'vile fellows, Atrius and Albius. Deny that you 'all have had any ſhare in, or conſented to ſo de-'teſtable a deſign. Say it was owing to a ſmall 'number of frantic, hairbrain'd wretches. I will 'readily believe you in this. For ſo heinous is the 'crime committed, that if the whole army had been 'guilty, it could not have been atoned for without 'much blood. I am as loth to touch on this point 'as I would be to touch wounds, that could not bear 'being prob'd. But ſtill they muſt be prob'd and 'dreſſed before they can be cured. As for myſelf, 'after having driven the Carthaginians out of Spain, 'I did not imagine, conſidering the conduct I have 'obſerved both towards allies and enemies, that 'there was a ſingle place in the whole province 'where I was hated, or a ſingle man that deſired my 'death. How much am I deceived in this hope! 'For the report of my death was not only received 'with joy, but even the confirmation of it expected 'with impatience. Do not hence imagine, that I 'extend theſe reproaches of guilt to you all. If I 'believed the whole army deſired my death, I could 'no longer with pleaſure enjoy a life, become odi-'ous to all my countrymen, and to my ſoldiers, and 'would ſacrifice it here before your eyes. But every

'multitude

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‘ multitude is like the ſea, which though of it's own
‘ nature immoveable, is either calm or tempeſtuous
‘ as the winds and breezes ruffle it. The ſpring and
‘ cauſe of all your madneſs is to be ſought in your
‘ ringleaders. You were only infected with their
‘ phrenzy. I am of opinion, you do not ſtill know
‘ how far this madneſs might have puſhed you, what
‘ wicked attempts you might have made againſt me,
‘ your country, parents, children, the Gods, who
‘ were witneſſes of your oath, the auſpices under which
‘ you have fought, the military laws and diſcipline
‘ of your anceſtors, and againſt the dignity of the
‘ Roman empire. I do not ſpeak with reſpect to
‘ myſelf. For let us ſuppoſe that you believed my
‘ death with more precipitation than joy, and that
‘ I have behaved myſelf ſo, that it could be no ſur-
‘ prize, if the troops were weary of having me at
‘ their head; yet whereby hath your country me-
‘ rited, that you ſhould betray it by joining Mando-
‘ nius and Indibilis? What have the Roman people
‘ done to you, that you ſhould diveſt the tribunes
‘ of their power, which was conferred upon them
‘ by the ſuffrages of the people, and transfer it
‘ to private men? Not ſatisfied with this, you, a
‘ Roman army, beſtowed faſces upon them, who
‘ never had the honor of a ſervant, on whom they
‘ could lay their commands. Albius and Atrius
‘ lay in the prætorium. The trumpets ſounded be-
‘ fore them; they were aſked for the watch word, and
‘ ſat upon the tribune of the proconſul Scipio; they
‘ had lictors to attend them, the crowd was kept off
‘ as they went in proceſſion; nay, the rods and axes
‘ were carried before them. You think it a pro-
‘ digy, that it ſhould rain ſtones, and temples be
‘ ſtruck with lightning, or that animals ſhould bring
‘ forth monſters; but this is a prodigy that can be
‘ expiated by no ſacrifices or ſupplications, but by
‘ the blood of thoſe alone, who dared to commit
‘ ſuch an atrocious crime.

‘ THOUGH

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'THOUGH no reaſon can ever be aſſigned 'for a wicked action, yet I would willingly know, 'your end and views in being concerned in this 'villainous project. A legion indeed was ſent to 'defend Rhegium. They baſely aſſaſſinated the 'principal citizens, and kept the town in poſſeſſion 'for ten years. For this crime the whole legion, 'conſiſting of four thouſand men, were beheaded in 'the forum of Rome. Yet they did not chooſe 'for their general an Atrius Umber, little better 'than a ſcullion, and of an ominous name [a]; but De-'cius Jubellius a legionary tribune: Neither did they 'go over to Pyrrhus, the Samnites or Lucanians, 'thoſe profeſſed enemies of the Roman people. But 'you informed Mandonius and Indibilis of your 'projects; with them you were to have joined your 'arms. They intended to have made Rhegium the 'conſtant ſeat of their empire, as the Campanians 'had made Capua, having expelled the old inhabi-'tants, and as the Mamertines in Sicily had fixed at 'Meſſina; but never deſigned to make war upon 'the Romans, or any of their allies. Were you de-'termined to have fixed your reſidence at Sucro, 'where, if, after having ſubjected the province, I 'had gone away and abandoned you, you might 'juſtly have invoked the vengeance of both Gods 'and men, for not being permitted to return to 'your wives and children. But you have entirely 'forgot them, as you have done your country and 'me. Well! Let me ſtill inquire into the reaſon of 'your wicked deſign, which perhaps was not alto-'gether a mad project. Could you, but 8000 men 'all of leſs merit than Albius and Atrius to whom 'you ſubjected yourſelves, aim at wreſting Spain 'from the Roman people, while I was alive and the 'reſt of the army ſafe, with which in one day I took 'Carthage, routed four generals with their armies, 'and drove them out of Spain? But my name a-'part; you only injured me by a too credulous be-

[a] *Ater, horrid; Umber, darkneſs.*

'lief

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'lief of my death. Suppoſing I had died, would 'the commonwealth, would the Roman empire have 'expired with me? May Jupiter, the beſt and great-'eſt of beings, forbid, that the duration of a ſtate 'founded in divine auſpices to ſubſiſt eternally, 'ſhould be limited to this frail and periſhable body 'of mine. The Roman people have ſurvived the 'loſs of Flaminius, Paullus, Gracchus, Poſthumius 'Albinus, Marcellus, T. Criſpinus, C. Fulvius, the 'two Scipio's my father and uncle, all illuſtri-'ous generals who have periſhed in the ſame war, 'and will ſurvive a thouſand others whom the ſword 'or diſeaſe may carry off. How could you think 'then, the Roman ſtate would be buried with my 'ſingle funeral? When my father and uncle, your 'two generals, were killed in Spain, you yourſelves 'made choice of Septimus Marcius, to lead you 'againſt the Carthaginians fluſhed with their late 'victories. The reaſon I advance this is, to ſhew 'your folly in fancying that Spain ſhould ever want 'a commander. Would M. Silanus, who came in-'to the province joined in commiſſion, and with e-'qual authority with me; would my brother L. Sci-'pio, or C. Lælius, two lieutenant generals, have 'failed to vindicate the honor of the empire? Beſides 'could the armies, the generals, their dignity or their 'cauſe be compared? And ſuppoſe you had exced-'ed them in all theſe reſpects, would you have 'ſerved the Carthaginians, againſt your country, and 'your own citizens? What! would you have Afri-'ca be miſtreſs of Italy, and Carthage of Rome? 'What injury has your country done you?

CHAP. XXIX.

'AN unjuſt ſentence, and a wretched baniſh-'ment, provoked Coriolanus to take up arms againſt 'Rome, but his dutiful reſpect for his mother pre-'vented him from being guilty of parricide in re-'gard to his native country. What grievances, 'what reſentment prompted you? Was the want of 'your pay for a few days, when your general was 'ſick, a ſufficient reaſon to take up arms againſt

'your

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'your country? to desert the Romans and go over 'to the Illergetes? to violate all laws divine and 'human? You have certainly been mad, and more 'distempered in mind, than I was in body. My 'soul shrinks at the mention of what you believed, 'hoped for and wished. But let all these things be buried in oblivion, if possible; if not, at least let them 'never be talked of more. I do not deny but my 'speech may seem vehement and severe to you, but 'how much more heinous are your actions than my 'words are harsh? Do you think it reasonable that 'I should suffer all that you have done against me, 'when you cannot bear the relation of it with patience? But I shall not reproach you with it any 'more. I wish you may as easily forget these 'things as I shall. Wherefore as to the generality 'of you, if you repent of your crime, I am satisfied. 'But Albius Calenus and Atrius Umber, and others 'that were ringleaders in the mutiny, shall expiate 'their guilt with their blood. If you have recovered 'the use of your reason, their punishment will not 'only give you no pain, but even be agreeable to 'you; for they have injured none so much as you.' As soon as Scipio had ended his speech, all that was capable of giving terror was exhibited, as had been concerted, to their eyes and ears. The soldiers of the other army, who had surrounded the assembly, began to strike their swords upon their shields, and at the same instant the voice of the herald, summoning those who had been condemned, into the council, was heard. They were dragged naked into the middle of the assembly, and the instruments of their punishment immediately brought out. Whilst they were fastened to stakes, whipt with rods, and beheaded, their accomplices remained motionless and so benumbed with fear, that not a single complaint of the severity of the punishment, or so much as a groan escaped them. When the dead bodies were removed, and the place purified, the soldiers having been all called one after another, took a new military

tary oath to Scipio, and their arrears were paid to each as they anſwered to their names. Thus ended the mutiny which began at Sucro.

AT the ſame time Hanno, Mago's lieutenant ge- CHAP. neral, being ſent from Cadiz to the river Bætis, with a ſmall body of Africans, by bribing the Spaniards raiſed about four thouſand young men. But ſoon after L. Marcius took his camp, where having loſt a great many of his men in the attack, and others in the flight, the horſe purſued him very cloſe, ſo that he eſcaped only with a few. During theſe tranſactions at Bætis, Lælius, having got out of the ſtraits into the ocean, arrived at Carteia [a]. That city is ſituated upon the coaſt of the ocean at the mouth of the ſtraights. They thought to have recovered Cadiz, as I mentioned above without a battle, as ſome, who promiſed to betray it, had come over to the Roman camp. But they were diſappointed in their hopes. Mago, who was then in the place, had diſcovered the conſpiracy, ſeized all the accomplices, and made the prætor Adherbal carry them to Carthage. The latter, in conſequence, having put the conſpirators on board a quinquereme, made it ſet out firſt, becauſe it was the heavieſt, and followed at a little diſtance with eight trireme. When the quinquereme had entered the ſtraights, Lælius, quitting the port of Gibraltar on board a galley of the ſame burden, and followed by ſeven triremes, vigorouſly attacked Adherbal and his triremes, being aſſured that the quinquereme, when once got into the rapid ſtraight, could not ſail back againſt the tide. The Carthaginian was in a panic for ſome time, not knowing whether he ſhould follow the quinquereme, or tack and face the enemy. But this delay made it impoſſible for him to decline a fight; for the enemy was within the throw of a dart, and preſſed him hard on all ſides. The tide likewiſe was ſo ſtrong, that he could not manage his ſhips. It was not like a ſea fight, for they could do nothing to their minds, by dexterity or good conduct. The nature of the

CHAP. XXX.

[a] *Gibraltar.*

ſtraight

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ſtraight and tide ſolely regulated the action, daſhing their own ſhips againſt one another, while they endeavored by rowing to make againſt the enemy. So that you might ſee one who was flying forced back by the eddy, and daſhed againſt the victors, and another that was purſuing, if ſhe had got into an oppoſite tide, turn about as if ſhe fled. In the time of action, when one intended to run full tilt againſt one of the enemy's, ſhe received the enemy's ſtroke on her broad ſide, whilſt another that lay athwart the enemy's halſe, was in a moment turned with her head to her. The triremes fought with different ſucceſs, fortune governing all; but the Roman quinquereme, whether by her weight, which took a ſtronger hold of the tide, or by means of her having a greater number of oars, could more eaſily paſs through the eddies, and was more eaſily governed, ſo that ſhe ſunk two of the enemy's triremes, and bruſhing by another, broke all her oars on one ſide. Nay ſhe would have demoliſhed the reſt that came in her way, if Adherbal, with the five that remained, had not got out to the main ſea by help of his ſails, and ſo gone for Africa.

CHAP. XXXI.

LÆLIUS returned victorious to Carteia, where he was informed of all that happened at Cadiz, that the plot had been diſcovered, and the conſpirators ſent to Carthage. Thus ſeeing no hope remained of ſucceding in what they came about, he ſent deputies to L. Marcius, deſiring if they did not deſign to ſpend their time at Cadiz to no purpoſe, to return to their general. Marcius complied, and within a few days both rejoined Scipio at Carthagena. Their departure not only delivered Mago from great uneaſineſs, for he was hard put to it both by land and ſea, but the news of the revolt of the Illergetes made him conceive hopes of recovering Spain. He ſent deputies to the ſenate of Carthage, who exaggerating excedingly the revolt of the Roman allies, and the ſedition that had happened in their camp, earneſtly adviſed them to ſend ſuccors to Mago, by which means the Carthaginians might be reinſtated in the poſſeſſion

possession of Spain, which they received from their ancestors. Mandonius and Indibilis, having returned into their own country, remained some time in great anxiety, expecting to hear what the Roman general would do in respect of the mutiny, and not despairing, if the citizens were pardoned, to obtain the same grace for themselves. But when they were informed of the rigor with which the guilty had been punished, they concluded they should not be treated with less severity. For this reason having made their subjects take arms again, and having drawn together the auxiliary troops which they had before, with an army of 20000 foot and 2000 horse they entered the country of the Sedetani, where they had encamped in the beginning of the sedition. CHAP. XXXI.

SCIPIO, having easily regained the affections of his soldiers, both by paying them their arrears without making any difference between the guilty and innocent, and by the good reception he gave them all indiscriminately, thought it incumbent on him to harangue them, before he led them from New Carthage. After having inveighed at large against the perfidy of the rebel princes, he protested, 'He 'was going on an expedition to revenge their crime, 'with dispositions very different from those he had 'when he reformed the error of his fellow citizens. 'That it had been to him like tearing out his own 'bowels, made him shed tears and utter many groans, 'to expiate, with the blood of thirty men, either the 'imprudence or real crime of eight thousand. At 'present he was going with a fixed resolution and 'pleasure to spill the blood of the Illergetes; a peo-'ple neither born in the same country, nor joined 'with him by an alliance of any kind, and who per-'fidiously had broke through the only ties between 'them, those of faith and amity. As to his army, 'besides it's being composed of Roman and Latine 'allies, he saw with pleasure that there was scarce a 'single man in it, who had not been brought out of 'Italy into Spain, either by his uncle Cn. Scipio, CHAP. XXXII.

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'who came firſt into that province, his father, a 'conſul, or himſelf. That they were accuſtomed 'to the name and auſpices of Scipio; that he would 'gladly lead them back to Rome, to ſhare in the 'triumph he had acquired by their valor, where he 'flattered himſelf, when he ſhould ſtand for the con-'ſulſhip, they would intereſt themſelves as much 'for him as if the honor of the whole army were in 'queſtion. As to the preſent expedition againſt 'Mandonius and Indibilis, if any ſhould look upon 'it as a war, he muſt forget the glorious actions he 'had already done. For in reality he made more 'reckoning of Mago, who had fled from the conti-'nent into a deſert iſland ſurrounded by the ocean, 'with a few ſhips, than of the Illergetes. He was 'a Carthaginian general, and attended with all that 'now remained of the Carthaginian army. But the 'Illergetes, againſt whom they were to march, were 'a banditti, with leaders of their own complexion, 'who were able to do no more than pillage the 'lands, burn the houſes, and drive off the cattle of 'their neighbors: but when the queſtion was to 'fight in a pitched battle, they placed their whole 'reſource, not in the force of their arms, but the 'lightneſs of their heels. Therefore he thought 'proper to reduce the Illergetes, before he left the 'province, and that not from any fear that they 'ſhould be the ſpring of another more conſiderable 'war, but firſt that ſuch an ungrateful revolt might 'not go unpuniſhed, and then that it might not be 'ſaid there ſhould remain a ſingle enemy in a pro-'vince he had ſo bravely and ſucceſsfully ſubdued. 'That therefore under the protection of the Gods 'they ſhould follow him to take vengeance on wick-'ed men, and not to fight with an enemy in any re-'ſpect their match.'

CHAP. XXXIII.

AFTER this diſcourſe he diſmiſſed them, with orders to hold themſelves in readineſs to march the next day. Accordingly he ſet out, and in ten days arrived upon the banks of the Ebro. He paſſed that river

river without loſs of time, and after four more days march, incamped in ſight of the enemy. There was a plain ſurrounded with a ridge of mountains on every ſide, where Scipio ordered to drive all the cattle which they had taken in the enemy's country, to provoke the wild avidity of theſe barbarians, and then detached a body of velites, to guard them. When they ſhould begin to ſkirmiſh, he ordered Lælius to charge them ſuddenly with the horſe which lay in ambuſh. The mountains lay very commodiouſly to cover theſe cavalry. A battle ſoon enſued. The Spaniards, running in all haſte to ſeize the cattle, were charged briſkly by the light-armed Romans as they drove them off. At firſt they annoy'd them with their darts. Then laying them aſide, as fitter to bring on than decide an action, they advanced ſword in hand. The ſucceſs was doubtful when the cavalry came to their relief. Theſe did not only attack them in front, but fetching a compaſs by the foot of the mountains, charged them in the rear, to cut off all communication with the reſt of the army. By which means there happened a greater ſlaughter than uſually light ſkirmiſhes produce. This defeat however only ſerved to irritate the barbarians, who, leſt they ſhould ſeem diſpirited, appeared next morning in order of battle. But the narrow plain, as I have already obſerved, was not ſufficient to contain them all: only about two thirds of their foot, and all their horſe went into the valley. The reſt of their foot were poſted on the declivity of an hill. Scipio concluded that the narrowneſs of the place would prove an advantage to him, becauſe the Roman ſoldiers could fight better in a ſtreight than the Spaniards, as alſo becauſe the enemy's forces were pent up in a place that could not contain them. Beſides he formed another ſtratagem. Perceiving that in ſo narrow a paſs he could not make his horſe cover his flanks, and that the enemy's, which they had brought with their foot into the field, would be of no uſe to them, he or-

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dered Lælius to march his cavalry round the hill with as little noiſe as poſſible, to cut off their horſe from the foot. In conſequence he charged the enemy with all his infantry. Four cohorts compoſed the front, becauſe the line of battle could not be extended farther. He immediately began the action, in order to divert the enemy from viewing the cavalry paſſing along the hill. Neither did they perceive them in their march, till they heard the noiſe of the horſe in their rear. Thus there were two ſeparate battles, one between the foot and another between the horſe, for the narrowneſs of the place would not allow them to mix with one another. Whereas the Spaniſh infantry could not ſupport their cavalry, nor they be of any uſe to their foot; and the foot truſting to the former had been incommodiouſly poſted in the plain, they were all cut off, and the horſe (now ſurrounded by the enemy on all ſides) could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the Roman infantry in the front, (for by this time all their own foot were put to the ſword) nor of their horſe in the rear; ſo they diſmounted and in a ring long defended themſelves under cover of their horſes till they were all cut in pieces. Not ſo much as a ſingle man of all the horſe and foot that engaged in the plain eſcaped. The other third diviſion which had not room to engage becauſe the ground was ſo narrow, but ſtood unactive upon the declivity of the hill, had both time and opportunity to fly; and accordingly eſcaped with their two princes, who were the authors of the revolt, before the whole army was entirely ſurrounded by the enemy.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THE Romans made themſelves maſters of the enemy's camp, where they took 3000 priſoners, beſides the plunder of all kinds which fell into their hands. They loſt on this occaſion 1200 men, Romans and allies, and had about 3000 wounded. The victory had not been ſo bloody, if it had not been fought in a cloſe place, from which there was no eaſy way to fly. Indibilis, laying aſide all thoughts

of

of war, believed, in the bad ſtate of his affairs, he had not a more ſure reſource, than in Scipio's clemency, of which he had had an happy trial before. Therefore he ſent his brother Mandonius, who having proſtrated himſelf at his feet, laid the blame on the fatal madneſs of the times, which had every where diffuſed the poiſonous contagion of revolt, and infected in a manner, againſt their will, not only the Illergetes and Lacetani, but the Romans themſelves. That after the crime they had committed, himſelf, his brother and all their ſubjects, had abſolutely determined either to reſign to Scipio, if he deſired it, the lives they had received from him, or to devote the reſt of them to his ſervice, as he alone had a title to them, for having generouſly preſerved them twice. They had formerly, in confidence of their innocence, ſubmitted to his clemency before they had experience of it, but their ſole hope now was in his pity, without having the leaſt deſert to plead. It was cuſtomary among the Romans, never to receive any into their alliance, that were not in league, or otherwiſe joined by mutual treaties, before they had ſurrendered all things both human and divine, received hoſtages from them, diſarmed them and put gariſons in their towns. Scipio, after having warmly reproached as well the preſent as the abſent brother, with their perfidy, added, 'By your 'crimes you deſerve to die. You ſhall live never-'theleſs, and owe your lives to my favor, and that 'of the Roman people. I ſhall not diſarm you, a 'pledge required only by them who fear a rebelli-'on; but I will leave you your arms freely, and your 'minds free from fear. Neither will I take ven-'geance upon your innocent hoſtages, ſhould you 'again revolt, but upon yourſelves. Conſider then 'whether you ſhall like to feel the effects of Roman 'clemency or indignation.' So he diſmiſſed Mandonius, demanding of him only a large ſum of money for the payment of his troops. After having detached Marcius into Farther Spain, and ſent Sila-

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nus back to Tarraco, he ſtayed behind ſeveral days to receive from the Illergetes the money he had demanded, and then attended by ſome light horſe rejoined Marcius as he drew near the ocean.

CHAP. XXXV.

VARIOUS reaſons ſucceſſively had deferred the negotiation formerly begun between Scipio and Maſiniſſa in particular, becauſe that prince would only treat with the general in perſon, and have his ſanction to the treaty. This obliged Scipio to undertake a long journey, and far out of his way. Maſiniſſa was then at Cadiz. As ſoon as he was informed by Marcius of Scipio's arrival, he pretended that his horſes were deſtroyed by remaining in the iſland, were a great burden to the inhabitants, at the ſame time that they ſuffered much themſelves from the general ſcarcity of proviſion; beſides, a long inaction had enervated his troops. By theſe remonſtrances he induced the Carthaginian general to permit him to go to the continent, to ravage the adjacent countries of the Spaniards. When he landed he ſent three noble Numidians to ſettle the time and place for an interview, with orders to two of them to remain as hoſtages. The third was ſent back to bring Maſiniſſa to the place appointed by Scipio. They both repaired thither, attended only by a ſmall train. The Numidian prince had already conceived an high idea of Scipio's merit, from the rumor only of his great exploits, and expected to ſee a hero of a huge ſize. But the ſight of him exceedingly increaſed his eſteem and veneration. And in truth, the noble and majeſtic air, which he naturally had, was exalted by the length of his hair, the dignity of his perſon, and the neatneſs of his dreſs, which was ſuch as became a man and a ſoldier. He was in the prime of his age, and full ſtrength, and his late illneſs had made ſuch an addition to his ruddy and blooming complexion, that his youth ſeemed to have been renewed. Maſiniſſa, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at firſt ſight of him, began with a compliment of thanks for ſending him back his nephew without ranſom.

He

He assured him 'that from that time he had ar- CHAP.
'dently desired an opportunity to confer with him, XXXV.
'and had seized with joy the moment the Gods had
'procured it; that he passionately desired to do him
'and the Roman people such services as no foreign
'prince should excede him in. Though he had de-
'sired that long, yet hitherto he had not had it in
'his power to put it in execution in Spain, which
'was an unknown and foreign country to him: but
'he would without difficulty perform it in his na-
'tive land, where he was born and educated heir to
'his father's crown. If the Romans would send
'Scipio thither at the head of an army, he was cer-
'tain that Carthage would soon be ruined.' This interview and discourse gave Scipio great joy. He knew that Masiniſſa had been the soul of the enemy's cavalry during the war; besides he thought he saw marks of a noble and exalted courage in the aspect of that young prince. The treaty being concluded, Scipio returned to Tarraco and Masiniſſa to Cadiz, after having, with the connivance of the Romans, carried off some plunder from the adjacent countries, that he might not seem to have made a fruitless voyage to the continent.

MAGO seeing the hope he had founded prin- CHAP.
cipally upon the sedition of the Roman soldiers, and XXXVI.
after upon the revolt of Indibilis, had vanished, and
that the affairs of Spain were absolutely desperate,
was preparing to pass into Africa, when he received
orders from the senate of Carthage to repair to Italy
with the fleet which he had at Cadiz: to take into
his pay as many Gauls and Ligurians as he could,
and join Hannibal in order to keep up the spirit of a
war, which had been begun with so much ardor, and
of which the first successes had been so glorious. In
order to execute this command, besides the money
that had been sent him from Carthage, he took great
sums from Cadiz, having plundered not only the
public treasury of that city, but the temples of the
Gods, and forced private persons to bring him all

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the gold and silver they could. As he coasted along Spain, he made a descent near Carthagena, plundered the neighboring countries, and then approached the city itself with his fleet. There having kept his soldiers in the ships, during the day, he made them land in the night, and led them to that part of the wall, by which the Romans had attacked and taken the place, believing that the garison which had been left in it was not sufficiently strong for it's defence; and that the inhabitants perhaps, dissatisfied with the present government, might make some commotion, of which he might take the advantage. But expresses from the country informed them of his arrival, and the ravages he had made; besides his fleet had been descried in the day. The Romans had reason to set a choice guard before their city. The garison was posted under arms, within the gate that looked towards the sea and lake. As soon as the enemy came up, with a greater noise than violence, for sailors and soldiers were all confusedly mixed together, the Romans, suddenly opening the gate, sallied out with a great shout, and having put the enemy into disorder, upon the first attack, forced them to throw away their arms, and pursued them as far as the shore with great slaughter. And if the ships had not been ready to take them aboard, they had been all cut in pieces. Nay they trembled for fear when on board. For they drew up their planks left the Romans should enter pellmell with their own people, and cut their cables, that they might not be hindered by weighing their anchors. Many swiming to the ships, not knowing where to steer by reason of the darkness, miserably perished. The next day when the fleet had sailed back to the coasts of the ocean, whence it had set out, there were 800 men found killed, and about 2000 arms betwixt the wall and shore.

CHAP. XXXVII.

MAGO sailed to Cadiz, where being shut out he came to an anchor at Cimbis, a small port not far from it. From thence he sent deputies to Cadiz, to complain

complain of their having ſhut the gates againſt him, who was their friend and ally. They laid the blame upon the populace, who, as they ſaid, intended thereby to revenge themſelves for ſome plunder, his ſoldiers had committed before they embarked. He demanded to ſpeak with their chief magiſtrates. They were no ſooner come to him, than he cauſed them to be whipped and crucified. From thence he ſailed to the iſland Pityuſa [a], lying an 100 miles from the continent, and inhabited at that time by the Phœnicians. His fleet was very well received there, and they ſupplied him not only with proviſions in abundance, but alſo with men and arms. In confidence of this, he ſailed afterwards to the iſlands Baleares, fifty miles from thence. There are two iſlands of that name, now called Majorca and Minorca. Majorca, which was alſo the moſt conſiderable by the number of it's inhabitants and ſoldiers, had a port, which, as winter approached, would have been a commodious ſtation for him during that ſeaſon; but here his fleet met with as much oppoſition as if the Romans had inhabited that iſland. The people uſed only ſlings then, as they generally do now, and every body knows that they are not only more expert and dexterous in handling the ſling, than any other nation, but even than the other Baleareans. As the Carthaginians approached, they poured ſo dreadful a ſhower of ſtones upon them, that far from daring to come into the port, they made to ſea with the utmoſt haſte. Then he went to Minorca, which was fertile enough, but leſs populous and warlike than the other. So landing his army, and encamping in a well fortified place a little above the port, he got poſſeſſion of the city [b] and it's lands without oppoſition. Having raiſed about 2000 auxiliaries, and ſent them to Carthage, he cauſed his ſhips to be drawn on ſhore during the winter. As ſoon as Mago had abandoned the coaſts of the ocean, the inhabitants of Cadiz ſurrendered to the Romans. CHAP. XXXVII.

[a] *Ivica* in the *Mediterranean.* [b] *Citadela.*

SUCH

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SUCH were Scipio's exploits in Spain. Then he ſet ſail with ten ſhips for Italy, after giving the government of the province to L. Lentulus, and L. Manlius Acidinus. The ſenate gave him audience without the city, in the temple of Bellona, where he gave them a detail of his exploits in his province, how many pitched battles he had fought, how many cities he had taken from the enemy, and what nations he had ſubjected to the Roman people. He added, that though on his arrival in Spain, he had found four generals at the head of four victorious armies, yet on quitting it he had not left a ſingle Carthaginian in the country. He ſhewed ſome faint deſire of a triumph as a reward for all theſe ſervices rendered his country: but he did not inſiſt upon it, becauſe he knew that hitherto that diſtinguiſhing honor had been granted only to thoſe, who bore magiſtracies when they went to command. When his audience of the ſenate was over he entered the city; cauſing fourteen thouſand three hundred and forty two pounds of ſilver, and a great quantity of coined money to be carried before him, which was put into the public treaſury. Then Veturius Philo held the comitia for the election of conſuls: and all the centuries with unanimous conſent, and extraordinary marks of eſteem and favor, nominated P. Scipio, and gave him P. Licinius Craſſus the pontifex maximus for his collegue. It was remarkable that this aſſembly was more numerous than any ever had been ſince the war began. The citizens came thither from all parts, not only to give their ſuffrages for Scipio, but alſo to have the pleaſure of ſeeing him. There was an amazing concourſe of people round his houſe. That multitude attended him when he went to the capital to offer an hundred oxen to Jupiter, which he had vowed in Spain to ſacrifice after his return. Every body preſaged, that, as Lutatius had terminated the firſt war with Carthage, P. Scipio would put an end to the ſecond, and drive the Carthaginians out of Italy as he had out of Sicily. Nay in their minds they

they allotted him Africa for his province, as if the war in Italy had been terminated. They afterwards proceded to the election of prætors, Sp. Lucretius and Cn. Octavius were elected, who were ædiles of the people, and two private persons, Cn. Servilius Cepio and L. Æmilius Papus. It was in the fourteenth year of the second Punic war, that P. Scipio and P. Licinius Crassus entered upon the consulate. Their provinces were assigned them, viz. Sicily fell to P. Scipio without drawing lots, by consent of his collegue, because being employed in sacred things he was obliged to remain in Italy. The Bruttii were Crassus's lot. Then the prætors provinces were allotted them; the city falling to Cn. Servilius; Ariminum, for so they call Gaul, to Sp. Lucretius; Sicily to L. Æmilius, and Sardinia to Cn. Octavius. Scipio first proposed to the senate and obtained leave to celebrate the games, which he had vow'd at the time the soldiers had revolted in Spain, and to take out of the money he had carried into the public treasury, the sums that were necessary for this expence.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

P. Corn. Scipio P. Licin. Crassus consuls. Y. of R. 547. B. C. 205.

HE then introduced the deputies of Saguntum into the senate, where the chief of them spoke to this effect. 'Conscript fathers, though we have 'suffered the greatest evils, in order to retain an in-'violable fidelity to you, yet, after the benefits we 'have received from you and your generals, we shall 'not complain of our fate. You engaged in war on 'our account, and have so vigorously carried it on 'during fourteen years, that you have exposed your-'selves to the utmost danger, and brought the Car-'thaginians to the brink of destruction. When the war 'was formidable in Italy, and you had Hannibal to 'deal with, you sent the consuls into Spain at the head 'of an army to collect, as it were, the remains of our 'shattered forces. P. and Cn. Cornelius, from the time 'they came into the province, were always ready to 'distress the enemy, and promote our advantage. They 'first of all recovered our town. Our citizens, which 'were sold for slaves through all Spain, they re-

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'deemed,

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'deemed, and ſent men in queſt of them, in order 'to reinſtate them in their former liberty. When 'we were upon the point of riſing from a miſerable 'ebb to a comfortable pitch of fortune, the deaths of 'the two generals P. and Cn. Cornelius, who were re-'gretted as much by us, as by you, daſhed all our 'hopes. Then it ſeemed we had been brought back 'from thoſe diſtant places, and come into our country 'to be mournful ſpectators of it's ſecond ruin and de-'molition, and that we had no need of a Carthaginian 'army, or any other general whatſoever, to conſum-'mate our ruin: For the Turdetani, our moſt in-'veterate enemies, who were the principal authors of 'our firſt misfortunes, might have exterminated us. 'In that deſperate ſituation, you inſtantly ſent this 'Scipio, whom we, the moſt fortunate of all the Sa-'guntines, have had the honor to ſee unanimouſly 'elected conſul, and can inform our neighbors, that 'he on whom our future hopes of ſafety depend, is 'at the head of affairs; this Scipio who, after he 'had taken many cities of the Spaniards your ene-'mies, picked out all the Saguntines from among 'the other priſoners, and ſent them home to Sagun-'tum. In fine, he has reduced the Turdetani, who 'were ſuch inveterate enemies to us, that had they 'continued in proſperity we muſt of conſequence 'have utterly ſunk, to ſo low an ebb, that not only 'we for the preſent, (boaſting apart) but our poſte-'rity in time to come, have nothing to apprehend 'from them. We have ſeen that city razed, which 'prompted Hannibal to ſack Saguntum. We have 'exacted tribute of their country, which is not ſo 'agreeable to us upon the ſcore of profit, as revenge. 'It is to thank you for theſe benefits, which are ſo 'great that we could not have preſumed to hope or 'wiſh for greater from the Gods themſelves, that the 'ſenate and people of Saguntum have ſent us ten 'deputies to you; and at the ſame time to congra-'tulate you on the glorious ſucceſs of your arms for 'ſome years paſt in Spain and Italy. That in the

'firſt

'first place you have subdued and are in possession of Spain, not only as far as the Ebro, which formerly bounded your dominions, but to the coast of the ocean, that is, to the extremities of the earth; and that in Italy you have left Hannibal only the space he occupies with his camp, in which you keep him in a manner besieged. We are not only ordered to render thanks to Jupiter, the greatest and best of beings and tutelary God of the capitol, but also to offer him with your consent this crown of gold, and to place it in his temple in testimony of our unfeigned joy on account of the victories you have gained. We beg your permission for this, and that you would ratify by irrevocable decrees the privileges your generals have granted us.' The senate reply'd, 'that the ruin and re-establishment of their city should be an authentic proof to all nations of the inviolable fidelity, which both had observed to each other. The generals of the republic by re-instating Sanguntum, and delivering it's citizens from bondage, had acted justly and conformably to the desire of the senate. They with pleasure confirmed all the other advantages they had granted them, and permitted them to offer to Jupiter the gift they had brought.' Orders were afterwards given to lodge and entertain the deputies, and that each of them should have a present of 10,000 asses [a]. Immediately after the ambassadors of other nations were introduced to an audience. Those of Saguntum having demanded permission to visit as many of the different parts of Italy as they could with safety, guides were assigned them with letters of recommendation to all the magistrates of the cities to which they should go, with orders to receive them with marks of distinction. Then they deliberated about the affairs of their own commonwealth, and principally the new levies and provinces.

CHAP. XXXIX.

IT was the public report, that without drawing lots Africa would be assigned to Scipio, who not content

CHAP. XL.

[a] 321. 5s. 10d. *Arbuth.*

with

CHAP. XL.

with the pittance of glory he had already acquired, declared, 'that he thought himſelf elected conſul, 'not to carry on the war, but to terminate it, which 'he could do no other way than by tranſporting an 'army to Africa. If the ſenate ſhould oppoſe his 'deſign, he would have recourſe to the people.' But the principal ſenators were highly offended at this preſumptuous ſpeech. However while many of them durſt not ſpeak their minds openly for fear of the conſul, or from a deſire to make their court to him, Q. Fabius Maximus, being aſked his opinion, ſpoke as follows. 'I am ſenſible, conſcript fathers, 'that there are many amongſt you, who look on 'the ſubject of this day's deliberation as an affair al-'ready decided, and that it is waſting time in vain 'to ſpeak one's ſentiments of ſending the conſul into 'Africa, as if it was a matter not already determin-'ed. For my own part, I cannot conceive how 'Africa can be the province of our brave and able 'conſul, ſince neither the ſenate nor people have 'authorized that deſtination. If it is a matter already 'determined, I think the conſul, not the ſenator, 'who gives his opinion regularly on the ſubject un-'der deliberation, to blame in pretending to conſult 'us upon a matter already concluded and reſolved. 'I know that in oppoſing this extraordinary ardor 'for going to Africa, I ſhall infallibly draw two re-'flections upon myſelf. In the firſt place, that of 'ſlowneſs which is natural to me, and which young 'people may call cowardice and inactivity, while I 'have no cauſe to repent of it; ſince though the coun-'ſels of others have been more glittering at firſt ap-'pearance, yet the event hitherto hath ſhewn that 'mine were moſt ſolid and ſalutary. In the next 'place I ſhall be accuſed of being jealous of the 'glory our brave conſul every day acquires. But 'if my paſt life and conduct, the honor of having 'been twice dictator and five times conſul, or laſtly, 'the glory I have acquired as well in war as peace, 'glory ſo great as rather to give me diſguſt and

'ſatiety, than leave room for new deſires, are not CHAP.
'capable of vindicating me from ſuch ſuſpicions, my XL.
'age at leaſt ought. For how can there be any ri-
'valſhip between me and a young man, not yet ar-
'rived to the years of my ſon? In my dictatorſhip,
'when I was ſtill vigorous and in the full career of
'glory, none heard me, either in the ſenate or aſſem-
'bly of the people, remonſtrating againſt giving my
'general of horſe, who calumniated me in the vileſt
'manner, equal authority with me. I choſe rather
'to uſe actions than words to oblige him, whom others
'had equalled with me in command, to confeſs of
'his own accord that I was his ſuperior. Is it likely,
'that now, when ſatiated with honors, I ſhould enter
'into an emulation with a young man in the prime
'of life; or, that when weary of public affairs, even CHAP.
'of life itſelf; I expect to have the province of Afric XLI.
'decreed to me, if it ſhould be denied to him. No,
'I muſt live and die content with the glory I have
'already acquired. It was ſufficient for me to have
'ſtopped the courſe of Hannibal's victories, that he
'might be entirely vanquiſhed by you, who are now
'in the bloom of life and full ſtrength.

'I T will therefore be juſt in you, P. Cornelius, to
'pardon me, if I, who never had more regard to
'the applauſe of the world than to the common-
'wealth, cannot now prefer your imaginary glory
'to the welfare of the republic. Indeed, if we had
'not a war in Italy, or to do with an enemy, to
'conquer whom would derive no honor to the victor;
'to keep you in this country, even with a view to
'the public good, might ſeem with the war to have
'a deſign to deprive you of the means of acquiring
'glory. But Hannibal being actually in this coun-
'try, at the head of an entire army, with which he
'has kept Italy in a manner beſieged during four-
'teen years, will you, Cornelius, have cauſe to be
'diſſatisfied with your glory, if during your conſul-
'ſhip you effectually drive out of Italy an enemy
'who has killed ſo many of your countrymen, gi-

'ven

CHAP. LXI.

'ven us ſo many bloody defeats, and if you have 'the honor to terminate this ſecond war with Car- 'thage, as Lutatius had that of putting an end to 'the firſt? Do you think Hamilcar a general pre- 'ferable to Hannibal, or the war in Africa to that 'in Italy; or, that the victory over the former was 'more glorious than that you ſhall, gain on the 'ſuppoſition, the war ſhould happen to be termi- 'nated during your conſulſhip? Would you have 'choſen rather to drive Hamilcar from Drepanum 'and Eryx, than to force Hannibal to abandon 'Italy? Although you may ſeem to be more taken 'with the glory you have already acquired, than 'that you have in view, would you not be bet- 'ter ſatisfied to finiſh the war in Italy than in Spain? 'Hannibal is not yet in ſo a low condition as to 'make it be believed, that a perſon, who is going to 'make war elſewhere, avoids him more out of 'contempt than fear. Why don't you apply your- 'ſelf to this? Why, by going a round about way 'to work, do you hope that Hannibal will fol- 'low you into Africa and give you battle? Why 'do you not rather chuſe the neareſt way and at- 'tack him where he is? Do you really deſire to 'have the unrival'd glory of terminating the Punic 'war? Why, it is natural to defend your own coun- 'try, before you make a deſcent upon that of the 'enemy; that peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed in Italy, 'before Africa be made the ſeat of War, and that 'we ourſelves ſhould be delivered from all fear, be- 'fore we undertake to carry the terror of our arms 'againſt our enemies? If you can do your country 'this double ſervice, in the name of God do it. Af- 'ter having conquered Hannibal here, go and attack 'Carthage. But if one of theſe two advantages 'muſt neceſſarily be reſerved for two new conſuls, 'reflect that the firſt, beſides being the moſt conſi- 'derable and moſt glorious in itſelf, naturally paves 'the way to the ſecond; it is the real cauſe of it, 'and conſequently includes all the honor of it. But

'at

CHAP. XLI.

'at this time, beſide the want of money in the trea-
'ſury to ſubſiſt two armies in Italy and Africa, we
'have no means left for fitting out fleets, or furniſh-
'ing proviſions and ammunition. But that difficulty a-
'part, can any one be ignorant of the danger to which
'ſuch an enterprize muſt expoſe us? What! P. Li-
'cinius ſhall war in Italy, and Scipio in Afric. What
'if Hannibal be victorious, and march a ſecond time
'againſt Rome, (may the Gods avert the omen, and
'my very ſoul ſhrinks at the thought, but what we
'have ſeen already may happen again) could we recal
'you from Africa, as we did Q. Fulvius from Ca-
'pua? Beſides, are you ſure that fortune will favor
'you in Africa? The fate of your family, and the
'unhappy deaths of your father and uncle, defeated
'and killed with their armies in the ſpace of thirty
'days, after having, during ſeveral years, by the
'greateſt exploits, acquired immortal glory to your
'family and the Roman people among foreign na-
'tions, ought to be an example to you. I could
'not, in a whole day, enumerate all the kings and
'generals, who, in effect of having raſhly entered
'the countries of their enemies, have been entirely
'defeated with their armies. The Athenians, that
'wiſe and prudent republic, leaving the war they
'had in their own country, went to Sicily, with a
'numerous fleet, under the command of a young
'warrior, equally illuſtrious by his birth and valor,
'and a naval fight entirely ruined their then moſt
'floriſhing ſtate.

CHAP. XLII.

'BUT why do I mention foreign examples, of
'ſo old a date! This ſame Africa, and the illuſtrious
'Regulus, are an inſtance of great turns of fortune.
'Believe me, P. Scipio, as ſoon as you ſhall come in
'ſight of Africa, you will be ſenſible your exploits
'in Spain were but ſport and play. For what com-
'pariſon can there be between them and what you
'will have to do in Africa. You ſailed along the
'uninfeſted coaſts of Gaul and Italy, and arrived at
'Emporiæ a confederate port. There you landed

CHAP. XLII.

'your troops quietly, and marched to Tarraco, another allied city, without meeting with any obſtacle or danger upon your rout. From thence you marched through countries guarded and occupied by our troops. You found on the banks of the Ebro the armies of your father and uncle, whom their misfortune, and the deſire of avenging the death of their generals, had rendered more formidable than ever. They had indeed L. Marcius at their head choſen tumultuouſly, and by the ſuffrages of the ſoldiers to command them, but who except in point of birth, and the advantages of having paſſed through the great offices, might be ranked with the greateſt captains, for military ſkill and abilities. You beſieged Carthagena entirely at your eaſe, whilſt neither of the three Carthaginian armies made any motion to defend their allies. I am far from intending to depreciate the merit of theſe actions; though in no reſpect comparable to a war in Africa. We have no port to receive our fleet, no country ſubject to us, no confederate city, no king in our alliance, nor any place to halt in, no ſecure rout to march by. Can you rely upon Syphax and the Numidians? Let it ſuffice that you truſted them once. Raſhneſs is not always fortunate. The fraudulent endeavor to gain credit in things of little conſequence, that they may afterwards deceive with more advantage, and in things of greater importance. Your father and uncle were not overpowered by the arms of the enemy, till after they were abandoned by the treachery of the Celtiberians their allies; and your ſelf had not ſo much to fear from Aſdrubal and Mago, with whom you were at war, as you had from Mandonius and Indibilis, with whom you had contracted an alliance. Can you who have experienced the revolt of your own ſoldiers, rely upon the fidelity of the Numidians? It is true, Syphax and Maſiniſſa would gladly be more powerful in Africa than the Carthaginians; but they would rather

CHAP. XLII.

'rather ſee the Carthaginians ſuperior there than any other nation. At this time emulation, and all kinds of conteſts, animate them againſt each other, while the fear of foreign enemies is remote. But ſhew them the Roman arms and foreign armies, and they will inſtantly run together from all parts, as to extinguiſh a flame that menaces their general deſtruction. You will find, that though the ſame Carthaginians have defended Spain with ſufficient obſtinacy, they will ſhew much more zeal and courage when the queſtion ſhall be to defend their walls, the temples of their Gods, their altars and fire ſides: when marching to battle they ſhall be followed by their weeping wives, and have their little children in their ſight. Further, what if the Carthaginians, confiding in the fidelity of their confederate kings, the unanimity of the African ſtates, and the ſtrength of their own walls, ſhould reſolve when they ſee us deprived of your aid, and of that of your army, either to pour in upon us a new army from Africa, or order Mago, who has quitted the iſlands Baleares with his fleet, and is actually cruizing on the coaſt of Liguria, to join Hannibal? We ſhall then be in the ſame alarm, as when Aſdrubal invaded Italy, that Aſdrubal whom you, who are to inveſt all the ways not only from Carthage, but from all Africa, ſuffered to ſlip through your hands into Italy. You will tell me, you vanquiſhed him. Be it ſo. But I could have wiſhed, for your own honor as well as the ſake of the commonwealth, that you had not opened a paſſage for that conquered general to come into Italy. However, give us leave to aſcribe to your good conduct every enterprize that proſpered with you or the republic, ſince you have been at the head of our armies, and all your ill ſucceſs to the chance of war and fortune. The more valor and ability you have in war, the more it concerns Rome and all Italy to retain ſuch a protector. You cannot deny but that the principal ſeat of the war

CHAP. XLII.

'is where Hannibal is, ſince you declare that your 'view in going to Africa, is to draw him thither. 'Conſequently it is with him you are to contend ei- 'ther here or there. Will you have more ſtrength 'in Africa, and alone, than in this country when 'joined by your collegue and his troops? Does not 'the ſtill recent victory of the conſuls Claudius and 'Livius ſhew us the difference? Will not Hannibal 'be ſtronger in the neighborhood of Carthage, ſup- 'ported by all Africa, than in a ſmall corner of Brut- 'tium, where he has long, but in vain, demanded 'ſupplies from his country? Would a prudent per- 'ſon chooſe rather to fight where the enemy is dou- 'ble his number, than where he has two armies to 'attack one, and that already weakened and fatigued 'by ſo many battles, by ſo long and ſo diſtreſsful a 'war. Conſider the difference between your con- 'duct, and that of your father. After having ſet 'out to command in Spain, he returned immediate- 'ly to meet Hannibal on his deſcent from the Alps. 'You, when Hannibal is in Italy, are preparing to 'leave the country, not becauſe it is advantageous 'to the commonwealth, but becauſe you imagine it 'will be more for your glory, as when you aban- 'doned your province and army, againſt law, and 'without authority from the ſenate; and, being 'general of the Romans, with two galleys only, 'hazarded in your perſon both the ſafety of the 'commonwealth and the majeſty of the empire. 'My opinion, conſcript fathers, is, that P. Scipio 'was elected conſul, not for himſelf but for us and 'for the commonwealth, and that the armies were 'raiſed for the defence of Rome and Italy, and not 'that conſuls, out of pride, like kings, might tranſ- 'port them to whatever country they pleaſe.'

CHAP. XLIII.

FABIUS by this harangue ſtudied on purpoſe, his authority and confirmed reputation for wiſdom, brought over to his opinion the majority of the ſenate, in particular all the old members, and the greateſt part preferred the advice of this ancient ge-

'neral

neral to the fiery reſolution of this young captain. Scipio therefore ſpoke in his turn to the following effect. CHAP. XLIII.

'Fabius himſelf, venerable fathers, with 'juſtice obſerved in the beginning of his ſpeech, 'that his opinion might be ſuſpected of jealouſy or 'emulation. For my part I cannot tax ſo great 'a man with any ſuch thing: but either by not 'having well explained himſelf, or becauſe the ſu-'ſpicion is founded in truth, he does not ſeem to 'me to have entirely purged himſelf. Totally to 'remove this prejudice he has given a pompous de-'tail of the honors through which he has paſſed, 'and the reputation he has acquired by his exploits, 'in ſuch a manner as if I was only in danger of be-'ing rivalled by men of the ſmalleſt merit; not by 'him who, having attained to a pitch of glory be-'yond others, to which I own I aſpire as well as he, 'is ſorry that one day I ſhould become his equal. 'He mentioned his age, having paſſed through all 'the offices of ſtate with dignity, and put me down 'younger than his ſon, as if the thirſt of glory were 'confined to this mortal life, and did not extend to 'the lateſt poſterity. The moſt illuſtrious ſouls com-'pare themſelves not only with the heroes of their 'own times, but with thoſe of all ages. In truth, 'Fabius, I will not diſſemble with you, my ambition 'is, not only to equal, but if I can, (with deference 'let me ſay it) ſurpaſs you. And far be it from you 'in reſpect of me, or me in reſpect to thoſe that 'ſhall ſuccede me, to wiſh that no citizen ſhould e-'qual us. Such a diſpoſition would be injurious not 'only to thoſe whom we ſhould envy, but to the 'commonwealth, nay, to all the human race. Fa-'bius has much exaggerated the dangers of my ex-'pedition into Africa, inſomuch that he ſeemed to 'apprehend for me, as well as for the common-'wealth and her armies. But whence in the name 'of wonder procedes this ſudden anxiety for my 'life and reputation? After my father and uncle 'were killed, their armies almoſt utterly cut off,

CHAP. XLIII.

'Spain loſt, and four Carthaginian generals at the 'head of four armies kept all that country in ſub- 'jection and terror, when a general was ſought for 'that war, no body, except myſelf, offered them- 'ſelves, ſo that the Roman people were obliged 'to conſide the care of it to me, at the age of four 'and twenty. Why did no body then repreſent the 'diſadvantage of my youth, the ſtrength of the 'enemy, the difficulties of the war, and the recent 'deaths of my father and uncle? Have we now ſu- 'ſtained a greater loſs in Africa, than that we had 'then in Spain? Are there in that country more a- 'ble generals and more numerous armies than were 'then in Spain? Did my years and experience then 'qualify me better for carrying on war than now? 'Are the Carthaginians more formidable enemies to 'us in one country, than in another. It is very ea- 'ſy, after I have defeated and put to flight four Car- 'thaginian armies; after I have taken ſo great a 'number of cities either by force or capitulation; 'after I have ſubdued ſo many petty kings, fierce 'and barbarous nations, and extended my conqueſts, 'as far as the coaſts of the ocean; in a word, after 'having reduced all Spain, ſo that there does not 'remain the leaſt veſtige of a war in it; it is very 'eaſy, I ſay, to depreciate my actions. It will, in 'truth, be as eaſy, when I have returned victorious 'from Africa, to leſſen the objects which we now 'magnify, in terms full of emphaſis and exaggera- 'tion, as dreadful, ſolely with a view to keep me in 'Italy. Fabius affirms, that the coaſt of Africa is 'inacceſſible; that we have no port open to receive 'us. At the ſame time he reminds us of the taking 'Regulus priſoner, as if that general had miſcarried 'on his firſt landing in that province. He forgets 'that the ſame unfortunate general found the ports 'of Africa open, performed many noble actions the 'firſt year, and to the laſt remained invincible by 'any Carthaginian general. It is therefore in vain, 'Fabius, to endeavor to deter me by his example.

Though

'Though his defeat had happened very lately, not CHAP.
'forty years ago, in the preſent war, and not in the XLIII.
'former, why ſhould it prevent me from going into
'Africa, after the defeat and deaths of the two Sci-
'pios did not hinder me from going to Spain?
'Why ſhould I not pique myſelf, upon rendering
'my country the ſervices which the Lacedemonian
'Xantippus, was capable of rendering Carthage?
'His example can only ſerve to augment my confi-
'dence, when I obſerve that a ſingle man, by his
'valor, can perform ſuch glorious actions. But far-
'ther, we muſt forſooth take warning from the ex-
'ample of the Athenians, who neglecting the war
'in their own country, went raſhly to Sicily. But
'ſince we have leiſure to tell Grecian ſtories, why
'does he not rather ſpeak of Agathocles king of
'Syracuſe, who, to deliver Sicily from a long and
'diſtreſſing Carthaginian war by an expedition to
'the ſame Africa, transferred the war to the coun-
'try from whence it came.

'BUT why need we ſearch into antiquity, and CHAP.
'out of our own dominions, for examples, to prove XLIV.
'how advantageous it is to be the aggreſſor, and
'by removing the danger from our own country,
'transfer it into that of the enemy? Does not Han-
'nibal himſelf furniſh us with the moſt immediate
'and ſtrongeſt proof of this? There is a great dif-
'ference between ruining foreign territories, and
'ſeeing our own deſtroy'd with fire and ſword. The
'aggreſſor always has more courage, than he who
'acts on the defenſive. Beſides which, unknown
'objects always ſeem to be moſt dreadful. In or-
'der to judge of what we are to hope or fear from
'an enemy, we muſt enter into his country, and ſee
'it with our own eyes. Hannibal could never have
'expected that ſo many ſtates in Italy would have
'revolted to him from the Romans, as did after the
'battle of Cannæ. How much leſs fidelity and at-
'tachment will the Carthaginians find among the
'ſtates of Africa, ſince they are no leſs perfidious

CHAP. XLIV.

'allies to foreigners than rigid and tyrannical in re-
'ſpect to their ſubjects. Beſides conſider, how we,
'abandoned by our allies, ſupported ourſelves with
'our own forces, and by the valor of Roman ſol-
'diers, whereas the Carthaginians have no forces of
'their own. They only employ mercenary troops,
'Africans and Numidians, the moſt inconſtant and
'moſt fickle people in the univerſe. Provided I am
'not detained here, you will hear at the ſame time
'of my arrival in Africa, the ravaging of the whole
'country, the precipitate retreat of Hannibal from
'Italy, and the beſieging of Carthage. Expect to
'receive from Africa both more frequent and more
'agreeable news, than you did from Spain. My
'hopes are founded upon the fortune of the Roman
'people, upon the protection of the Gods, the wit-
'neſſes and avengers of the infraction of treaties
'by the Carthaginians, and upon the alliance of two
'potent monarchs, Maſiniſſa and Syphax, in whoſe
'amity I ſhall ſo confide, as to keep myſelf well up-
'on my guard againſt their inconſtancy. The war
'itſelf will diſcover many advantages to me, which
'I cannot diſcern at this diſtance; and it is the part
'of a wiſe and able general, to ſeize the favorable
'occaſions that offer, and by a prudent improve-
'ment to turn accidents to his advantage. It is
'true, Fabius, I ſhall have Hannibal for my anta-
'goniſt, as you ſay, but I ſhall rather draw him
'after me into his own country, than he keep me
'in mine. I ſhall force him to fight at home, and
'Carthage will be the prize of the conqueror, rather
'than the half ruined forts in Bruttium. You ſay
'that Rome and Italy will be in danger, whilſt I
'am croſſing the ſea, landing my troops in Africa,
'and advancing towards Carthage. But beware,
'Fabius, ſince you could ſtop the rapid career of
'Hannibal when victorious, of affronting ſo brave
'a man as the conſul Licinius, whoſe office would
'not allow him to draw lots in a foreign province,
'by inſinuating that he is not capable to make head

'againſt

CHAP. XLIV.

'againſt the Carthaginian weakened and almoſt quite 'reduced. After all, though my project was not 'the moſt likely for ſpeedily terminating the war, it 'would however be for the honor of the Roman 'people, and preſerving their reputation among fo-'reign ſtates and kings, to ſhew that we have cou-'rage, not only to defend Italy, but to attack Afri-'ca. It would be ſhameful for the Roman people 'to have it ſaid, none of their generals dared under-'take ſo bold an enterprize as Hannibal did, and 'that Africa, which was ſo often attacked and ra-'vaged by our fleets and armies during the firſt war, 'in which only Sicily was the prize in queſtion, 'ſhould enjoy a perfect tranquillity, now when the 'ſafety of Italy is at ſtake. It is time that Italy 'ſhould have reſt. It is time that Africa in it's turn 'ſhould feel the ſcourge of fire and ſword. Before 'Rome, from the top of her walls, ſees the enemy's 'army encamped at it's gates a ſecond time; let us 'ſhew the Carthaginians, from their ramparts, the 'Roman legions menacing her with immediate de-'ſtruction. Let Africa for the future be the ſeat of 'the war. Let us repay it all the calamities it has 'made us ſuffer, terror, flight, ravaging of lands, 'deſertion of allies, and all the other ills, which we 'have experienced during fourteen years. And thus 'I have finiſhed what I had to ſay upon the affairs 'of the commonwealth, the approaching campaign, 'and the allotment of the provinces. It would be 'tedious, and what in no reſpect concerns you; if, 'after the example of Fabius, who has made light 'of my actions in Spain, I ſhould attempt to extol 'my own merit and leſſen his. But I ſhall do neither, 'conſcript fathers, and young as I am, I will at leaſt 'outdoe this old general in moderation and conti-'nence of ſpeech. Such has been the tenor of my 'life and actions, that I can be ſilent on the ſubject 'of my own praiſe, and eaſily reſt contented with 'the good opinion you have of yourſelves formed 'of me.'

HOW-

CHAP. XLV.

HOWEVER, Scipio's ſpeech was not favorably received by the ſenate, becauſe a report had been ſpread, that if they did not aſſign him Africa as his province, he would have recourſe to the people. It was for this reaſon Q. Fulvius who had been four times conſul, and cenſor, called upon the conſul to declare openly in ſenate, 'whether he would refer 'the allotment of the provinces to the fathers, and 'acquieſce in their determination, or would lay the 'affair before the people.' Scipio reply'd, 'that he 'would do what he thought moſt for the intereſt of 'the commonwealth.' Then Fulvius ſaid, 'I was 'not ignorant of what you would anſwer, or of what 'you would do. For you yourſelf have ſufficiently ſhewn, that you only intended to ſound, not to 'conſult the ſenate; and unleſs we immediately grant 'you the province you deſire, you are prepared to 'lay the matter before the people. Therefore, tribunes, ſupport me when I refuſe to give my opinion, becauſe if the ſenate ratify it, the conſul will 'not conform to it.' A diſpute aroſe upon this, Scipio pretending 'that it was not equitable in the 'tribunes to interpoſe in a ſenator's giving his opinion, 'when demanded by the conſul.' The tribunes pronounced, that 'if the conſul ſhould refer the affair 'of the provinces to the ſenate, he ſhould abide by 'their deciſion; and that they would not allow an 'appeal to the people. But if he would not refer 'the matter to the ſenate, they would ſupport thoſe 'who ſhould refuſe to declare their opinions.' The conſul demanded a day's time to conſult with his colleague. The next day Scipio declared he ſubmitted the affair to the ſenate. Upon this they decreed Sicily to Scipio, with the fleet of thirty ſhips of war commanded by C. Servilius the year before, with permiſſion to go to Africa, if he thought it for the advantage of the commonwealth. Licinius was charged with the war againſt Hannibal, in Bruttium, with the army of either of the conſuls of the preceding year, at his own choice, and that L. Veturius, and Q. Cæ-

cilius ſhould caſt lots and agree between themſelves, who ſhould have the command of the two legions the conſul left in Bruttium; and that his commiſſion ſhould be continued for a year whoſe chance that province ſhould be. The reſt of the prætors and conſuls, who were to have the command of armies, and government of provinces, had likewiſe their commiſſions renewed. It fell to Q. Cæcilius's lot to act jointly with the conſul againſt Hannibal in Bruttium. The games which Scipio had vowed were then celebrated. The concourſe of the people was very great, and the ſpectators expreſſed great ſatisfaction; part of the ſpoils taken from Aſdrubal were ſent in a preſent to Apollo at Delphos. The ambaſſadors, M. Pomponius Matho, and Q. Catius, carried thither a crown of gold weighing two hundred pounds, and the plans of the ſpoils made of ſilver amounting to a thouſand pound weight. Permiſſion to make new levies having been refuſed Scipio, he did not much exert himſelf to the contrary. However he obtain'd leave to carry with him all the volunteers that ſhould join his army, and alſo to aſk what the allies ſhould be willing to ſupply him with, in order to build his new ſhips, which he had promiſed ſhould be no expence to the public. The people of Etruria promiſed to give him all the aſſiſtance in their power. The Cærites were to furniſh him corn, and other proviſions; the Populonians iron; the Tarquinians canvas for ſails; the Volaterans tackling for the ſhips and corn; the Arretini thirty thouſand bucklers, and as many helmets, javelins, half pikes and long ſpears, fifty-thouſand of each ſort; beſides hatchets, mattocks, hooks, kettles and milſtones, as many as were wanted for forty ſhips of war. Add to theſe twelve thouſand buſhels of wheat, and proviſion for the decurions and rowers during their voyage. The Pruſians, the Cluſinians, and the Ruſellans furniſhed him with fir-plank to build his ſhips, and a great quantity of corn. He had likewiſe fir out of the public woods. The Umbrians, Nurſines, the Reatines, the Amiternians, and

CHAP. XLV.

CHAP. XLV. and all the Sabines, wereto provide him with ſoldiers. Beſides the Marſians, Pelignians and Marrucinians, many of which liſted themſelves volunteers in his fleet, the Cammertes, then in alliance with the Romans, ſent him a regiment of 600 men. Twenty quinqueremes, and ten quadriremes were put on the ſtocks, and he plyed the work ſo hard, that in forty five days after the wood had been brought from the foreſts, the ſhips were launched and fitted.

CHAP. XLVI. ALL things being ready Scipio ſet out for Sicily with thirty men of war, having embarked about ſeven thouſand volunteers, and Licinius for the country of the Bruttii. Of the two armies which he found there, he choſe that which had ſerved under the conſul L. Veturius. Metellus was to command the legions he had before been at the head of, becauſe his ſoldiers, being accuſtomed with his management, could execute his orders without much difficulty. The prætors alſo ſet out for their provinces. As money for carrying on the war was wanting, the queſtors were ordered to ſell part of the territory of Capua, that lay betwixt the ditch called foſſa Græca[a] and the ſea, which had been confiſcated for the benefit of the commonwealth; and had a commiſſion to inſpect what lands belonged properly to any citizen of Capua, that the Roman people might be put in poſſeſſion of them, as alſo advertiſed a præmium of the tenth part of the money to them who could inform them beſt of their boundaries. The prætor of the city had orders to take care that the Campanians ſhould inhabit no place, but thoſe aſſigned them, and to puniſh ſuch as tranſgreſſed theſe limits. During the ſame ſummer Mago, ſon of Hamilcar, quitted Minorca, where he had ſtaid during the winter, and arrived in Italy with a fleet of thirty men of war, about twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, all choſen youth whom he had put aboard a great number of tranſport ſhips. And

[a] Conjectured to have been near the *Anio*, not far from *Trentola* and *Averſa*.

as

as there were no Roman ſhips to guard the coaſts, he ſurprized the city of Genoa by his unexpected arrival. From thence he ſailed along and landed in the river of the Alpine Ligurians, whom he endeavored to excite to a revolt. He took the advantage of a war between two ſtates of Liguria, the Ingauni[a] and the mountaineers called Intemelians[b]. Having left his plunder at Savo[c], with ten ſhips to guard it, he ſent the reſt of his fleet to Carthage to defend the maritime coaſt againſt the enterprizes of Scipio, who was ſaid to be upon the point of going to Africa. He made an alliance with the Ingaunians, whoſe cauſe he prefer'd, and marched againſt the Intemelians. The army of Mago increaſed from day to day, the Gauls, whom his reputation had attracted, coming in to join him. The news that Sp. Lucretius ſent alarmed the ſenators, leſt that joy they had conceived upon the defeat of Aſdrubal with his army ſhould be damped by as dangerous a war that ſeemed to break out under the command of another general. They ordered M. Livius, the proconſul, immediately to march the Volones under his command in Etruria to Ariminum, and Cn. Servilius to make the legions, which were appointed for the guard of the city to quit it under the command of whatever general he ſhould think fit to appoint, in caſe the public ſafety required it. He gave the command of them to M. Valerius, who led them to Arretium. At the ſame time Cn. Octavius took about Sardinia, of which he was prætor, 80 Carthaginian barks. Cælius ſays, that they were loaded with corn and other proviſions for Hannibal; but Valerius, that they carried the plunder taken in Etruria, and ſome priſoners of the Ligurian mountaineers to Carthage, when they were intercepted and taken. Nothing paſſed this year in Bruttium that merits being related. Contagious diſeaſes made great havock, both amongſt the Roman and Carthaginian troops, and to increaſe the misfor-

CHAP. XLVI.

[a] Inhabiting *Albenga*, on the coaſt of *Liguria*.

[b] Their capital is *Ventimiglia*, on the ſouth weſt coaſt of *Liguria*.

[c] Still ſo called.

tune

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tune the latter ſuffered much from famine. Hannibal paſſed the whole campaign near the temple of Juno Lacinia, where he erected an altar, and conſecrated it, and upon which he cauſed to be inſcribed, in Greek and Punic characters, an ample enumeration of his military exploits.

BOOK XIX.

C. Lælius, ſent by Scipio from Sicily to Africa, brings back with him conſiderable plunder: informs Scipio, that Maſiniſſa complains that he had not yet tranſported his army into Africa. The war ends in Spain to the advantage of the Romans. Indibilis falls in the war which he himſelf ſtirred up. Mandonius's own ſoldiers deliver him up when demanded by the Romans. Mago, who was then in Gaul and Liguria, has a conſiderable number of men ſent him out of Africa, with a vaſt ſum of money to be employed in raiſing recruits for his army, and poſitive orders to join Hannibal. Scipio quits Syracuſe, goes to the Bruttii, and recovers Locri, having driven the Carthaginian gariſon out of it, and put Hannibal to flight. A peace is concluded with king Philip. Cebele the Idean Mother, brought to Rome from Peſſinum a town in Phrygia, by virtue of a prophecy found in the books of the Sybils, that a foreign enemy ſhould be expelled Italy, if they brought the Idean Mother to Rome. Attalus king of Aſia puts the goddeſs into their hands. It is a ſtone, which the inhabitants have in great veneration and call a goddeſs. S. Scipio Naſica, the ſon of Cneius, who was killed in Spain, judged the beſt and moſt virtuous man of the ſtate, being under the age neceſſary for being queſtor, receives her, becauſe the tenor of the prophecy was, that the goddeſs was to be received and conſecrated by the moſt deſerving perſon in the ſtate. The Locrians ſend deputies to Rome to complain of the outrageous cruelty of the lieutenant Q. Pleminius, in ſacrilegiouſly taking away the money conſecrated to Proſerpine, and raviſhing their wives and daughters. He is carried to Rome in chains, and dies in priſon. A falſe report ſpread through the city that Scipio did nothing but ſpend his time in luxury and effeminate amuſements in Sicily. The ſenate ſend deputies to take cognizance of the affair. Scipio vindicated from the aſperſion, and gets the ſenator's orders to go over to Africa. Syphax marries the daughter of Aſdrubal, and renounces the alliance he had made with Scipio. Maſiniſſa king of the Maſylians, whoſe father died while he was in arms with the Carthaginians in Spain, loſes his dominions. Having often endeavor'd to recover them in war, he is at length totally defeated by Syphax, and ſtripped of all. When an exile he joins Scipio with two hundred

dred horſe, and in the firſt battle kills Hanno the ſon of Hamilcar, with a conſiderable body of men. Scipio, obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, upon the coming of Aſdrubal and Syphax, with an army of an 100,000 *men, fortifies his winter quarters. The ſucceſs of Sempronius the conſul againſt Hannibal in the country of the Crotonians. A cenſus held wherein the number of citizens enrolled amounts to* 215000. *A ſcandalous quarrel happens between the two cenſors M. Livius, and Cl. Nero, for Claudius takes away from Livius the horſe furniſhed him by the public, becauſe the people had condemned him to baniſhment; and Livius does the ſame by Claudius, becauſe he gives falſe teſtimony againſt him, and had not been ſincere in his reconcilement with him. Livius alſo reduces all the tribes to the ærarii, except one, becauſe they had condemned him when innocent, and afterwards elected him conſul and cenſor.*

SCIPIO was no ſooner arrived in Sicily, than he formed his volunteers into companies[a]. He reſerved without arms three hundred of the handſomeſt and robuſt young men to be about his perſon. As they were not incorporated into any battalion, or carried arms, they could not imagine for what uſe they were intended. Then he ordered three hundred young Sicilian cavaliers, diſtinguiſhed for their birth and wealth to attend him into Africa, and appointed a day when they were to appear before him well armed and mounted. This ſervice far from home, and which would expoſe them both by ſea and land, to dangers and fatigues, not only gave themſelves, but their parents and relations, extreme uneaſineſs. Accordingly on the day appointed they preſented themſelves on horſeback well armed. 'I 'am informed, ſaid Scipio, that ſome of you are 'afraid of the laborious and fatiguing ſervice you 'are deſtined for. If it really be ſo, I had much ra-'ther you ſhould now declare it openly, than by af-'terwards murmuring, become indolent, and render 'your ſervices uſeleſs to the republic. Speak your 'ſentiments freely, I ſhall not in the leaſt be of-'fended.' One of them owned frankly to the general, if he had his choice to act as he pleaſed, he would not engage in that expedition. 'Young man, 'ſaid Scipio, ſince you declare your mind ſo inge-

CHAP. I.

[a] See vol. II. p. 312. n. *a*.

'nuouſly,

CHAP. I.

'nuouſly, I will ſupply your place with a ſoldier,
'to whom you muſt deliver up your arms, horſe, and
'all your other military equipage. Take him home
'with you immediately, and take care that he be in-
'ſtructed how to manage his horſe, and his arms.'
The young Sicilian accepted theſe terms with joy, and the general aſſigned him one of the three hundred who were unarmed. All the reſt ſeeing their comrade diſcharged, with the favor of Scipio, excuſed themſelves as the firſt had done, and gave their places to others. Thus were 300 Roman horſe equipped by the Sicilians, without any charge to the commonwealth. The Sicilians were entruſted with the care of exerciſing, and teaching them military exerciſe. For the general had pronounced, that whatever Sicilian did not inſtruct his gueſt ſhould take the field himſelf. This afterwards proved a brave corps, and were very ſerviceable to the commonwealth in many battles. Then Scipio reviewed the legions, and in his choice of ſoldiers prefer'd the veterans who had ſerved under Marcellus, becauſe he thought them the beſt diſciplined, and fitteſt for beſieging towns, being well train'd to it at the long ſiege of Syracuſe. For Scipio did not meditate petty projects; his views extended to nothing leſs than the razing of Carthage. Then he canton'd his army through the ſeveral cities, ordering the ſtates of Sicily to ſupply them with corn, in order to ſpare that which he had brought from Italy. He cauſed the old ſhips to be careened, and detached them under the command of C. Lælius to plunder the coaſts of Africa. The new ones he ordered to be laid up near Palermo, becauſe being built of green wood, they would take all the winter ſeaſoning. When he had taken all meaſures neceſſary for opening the campaign, he came to Syracuſe, whoſe tranquillity was not yet well re-eſtabliſhed ſince the late war. The Syracuſans clamed the being reſtored to the eſtates, the Roman ſenate had granted them, and which ſome Italians detained in the ſame violent manner as they had taken

taken them from them during the war; he judged it abſolutely neceſſary, to cauſe the public faith to be obſerved. It was upon this account that he reinſtated the Syracuſans in poſſeſſion of their eſtates, firſt by an edict, and then by giving judgment againſt ſuch as perſiſted obſtinately in injuriouſly retaining them. This act of juſtice gave exceding pleaſure, not only to thoſe, who had the advantage of it, but to all the other ſtates of Sicily, who out of gratitude exerted themſelves to the utmoſt to aid Scipio in the war. During the ſame campaign a dangerous war broke out in Spain, at the inſtigation of Indibilis, prince of the Illergetes, whoſe ſole cauſe for revolting was his eſteem for Scipio, which inſpired him with contempt for all the other captains of the commonwealth. He was convinced that he was 'the only general that remained to the Romans, 'Hannibal having deſtroyed all the reſt. It was 'upon that account, that after the defeat of the two 'Scipio's in Spain, they could find none to ſucceed 'them but him; and that afterwards ſeeing themſelves hard put to it in Italy, they had been obliged to recal him to oppoſe Hannibal. Beſides, 'ſuch as commanded in Spain, were generals by title only not ability, and the veteran troops were 'drawn out of it. Every thing in the province was 'in confuſion, and all the ſoldiers left there raw undiſciplined men. They never would have ſuch a 'favorable opportunity for delivering Spain from the 'yoke of the Romans. Hitherto they had been the 'ſlaves either of the Carthaginians or Romans, and 'that not by turns, but ſometimes of both at once. 'The Carthaginians had been expelled the country 'by the Romans: and if the Spaniards would unite 'and act in concert, it would be eaſy for them to 'drive out the Romans alſo, and to reinſtate the 'manners, laws and cuſtoms of their fore-fathers, 'by delivering themſelves for ever from all foreign 'ſubjection.' By this harangue, he not only prevailed with his own ſubjects, but likewiſe the Auſe-

CHAP. I.

tani and other adjacent ſtates to take arms. In a very few days he aſſembled 30000 foot and 4000 horſe in the country of the Sedetani, where he ordered them to rendezvous.

CHAP. II.

THE Roman generals, L. Lentulus and L. Manlius, left by neglecting theſe firſt motions the war might grow to a greater head, joined their armies, entered the country of the Auſetani, and croſſing it without putting it to fire and ſword, arrived in view of the enemy's camp. They tried at firſt by negotiation, but in vain, to induce them to lay down their arms. For the Spaniards ſending out their cavalry againſt the Roman foragers, to whoſe aid that of the Romans came, brought on a battle, without great advantage on either ſide. About ſun-riſing next day the Spaniards appeared in line of battle about a mile from the Roman camp. The Auſetani were poſted in the centre. They left large intervals between the wings and the centre through which the horſe were to advance to the charge when there ſhould be occaſion for them. The Romans marſhalled their battle according to their uſual method, only imitating the enemy in this one reſpect, that they left intervals for the horſe between the legions. But Lentulus was of the mind, that their horſe would prove moſt ſerviceable, that ſhould get the ſtart in poſſeſſing thoſe large intervals left in the centre of the armies: For this reaſon he ordered Servius Cornelius, a legionary tribune, to ride full ſpeed into the vacant ſpaces between the enemy's battalions. Having led on the foot in perſon with no ſucceſs, he halted, to bring up the thirteenth legion to the front to ſupport the twelfth, which was poſted in the left wing againſt the Illergetes, and was giving way. As ſoon as they fought upon equal terms on that wing, he advanced up to Manlius in the front, who was animating his men, and ſending ſupports where they were neceſſary. He told him that all was ſafe upon the left, and that he had ſent Ser. Cornelius to fall upon the enemy with his cavalry, like a ſudden tem-

peſt.

peſt. He no ſooner had ſpoken this, than the Roman cavalry charged the enemy's centre ſo vigorouſly that they put their foot into diſorder, and blocked up the paſſage through which the Spaniſh horſe were to advance. Upon this the Spaniards diſmounted and fought on foot. As the enemy's ranks were diſordered, and all fluctuating in the utmoſt dread and confuſion, the Roman generals not only exhorted but conjured their ſoldiers, to purſue their blow vigorouſly, and not to ſuffer the enemy to rally. Had not their prince Indibilis diſmounted with the other horſemen, and poſted himſelf in the front of the foot, the barbarians had never ſtood this impetuous charge. They fought reſolutely on both ſides for ſome time, till Indibilis, who continued fighting after he had received many wounds, was pinned to the ground with a javelin. Then thoſe who fought round him were overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, and the rout became general. Many were killed, not having room to mount, ſo hardly were they preſſed by the enemy. Neither did they give over the purſuit, till they had taken the enemy's camp. 13000 Spaniards were killed on the ſpot, and 800 taken priſoners. The Romans and allies ſcarce loſt 200 men, moſt of whom were killed on the left wing. The Spaniards being diveſted of their camp, ſuch as eſcaped out of the battle diſperſed through the country, but afterwards returned to their reſpective cities. CHAP. II.

A DIET of them being ſummoned by Mandonius, they complained of their ill ſucceſs, bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe that prompted them to take the field, and reſolved to ſend an embaſſy to the Romans, declaring they were willing to lay down their arms and ſurrender at diſcretion. Theſe deputies, after having aſcribed their revolt to Indibilis and the great perſons, moſt of whom had been killed in the battle, ſubmitted themſelves and their whole nation to the victors. The Roman generals replied, they would accept their ſubmiſſion only upon condition, that they would deliver up Mandonius, and the other CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

ther ringleaders of the revolt; if not, they would march their victorious armies into the country of the Illergetes, Auſetani, and the other revolted ſtates. The deputies having made their report to the diet, Mandonius was immediately ſeized and delivered up to the Romans, with the other abettors of the revolt. The Spaniards had peace granted them, but were doubly taxed for this year, and ordered to furniſh corn for ſix months, cloaks and gowns for the army, and thirty of the ſtates were obliged to give hoſtages. The commotions in Spain being thus quieted, the force of the Roman commonwealth was turned againſt Africa. C. Lælius landed at Hippo [a] in the night, and led the ſoldiers and ſailors in regular order to ravage the country. Finding the inhabitants in as great ſecurity as in time of peace, they put all to fire and ſword. This news filled Carthage with dread and conſternation, for it was reported there that the Roman fleet commanded by Scipio was arrived; and they knew before that he was in Sicily. As thoſe who brought the accounts did not know exactly the number of the fleet, or of the army that plundered the country, fear, always ingenious in augmenting the evil, magnified the danger. They firſt abandoned themſelves to fear and terror, and then to ſad and melancholy reflections. 'Fortune had changed ſo 'much in reſpect to them, that, after ſeeing their 'victorious army encamped before the gates of 'Rome, having defeated ſo many armies of the ene-'my, and ſubjected all the ſtates in Italy, either by 'treaty or force of arms, they themſelves, by a re-'verſe of the chance of war, ſhould ſee Africa ra-'vaged, and Carthage beſieged by the Romans, with 'this difference, that they were not ſo able as the 'Romans to ſuſtain ſuch calamities. Rome had re-'ſources in her own commonalty, the Latins furniſh-'ed her with youth, that ſeemed to ſpring up again 'out of their ruins, and to multiply to repair the

[a] *Hippo Diarrhytes*, near *Utica*, about 30 leagues from *Carthage*. Now only a caſtle belonging to *Tunis*.

'loſs

'loſs of the dead. As to them, neither the citizens CHAP.
'of Carthage nor their peaſants were fit for military III.
'ſervice, that they employ'd only the mercenary
'troops of Africa, always wavering and ready, up-
'on the leaſt hopes of more gain, to change maſters.
'They had no hopes of aid from the two kings, for-
'merly their allies; for Syphax had been alienated
'from them ever ſince his interview with Scipio;
'and Maſiniſſa had openly abandoned them, and
'was become their mortal enemy. They had no
'longer either hope or reſource. Beſides Mago had
'not ſucceded in arming the ſtates of Gaul againſt
'the Romans, nor yet been able to join Hannibal.
'And laſtly, that the reputation of Hannibal de-
'clined every day as well as his army.'

THOUGH the recent accounts had diſperſed CHAP.
them to give vent to theſe melancholy lamentations, IV.
yet their preſſing neceſſities brought them back, to
deliberate upon the means for averting the danger
that threatened them. It was reſolved that levies
ſhould immediately be made both in city and coun-
try; officers ſhould be ſent into different parts of
Africa, to fetch auxiliary troops; the city ſhould be
fortified; proviſions and arms, as well offenſive as
defenſive, ſhould be brought into it, and a fleet fitted
out to be ſent to Hippo againſt that of the Romans.
Amidſt theſe deliberations, certain accounts at length
arrived, that it was Lælius and not Scipio, and that
he had brought no more troops than were neceſ-
ſary for making inroads into the country, and that
their main ſtrength was ſtill in Sicily. This gave
them ſome reſpite, and they began to ſend ambaſſa-
dors to Syphax and the other princes, to make a firm
alliance with them. They ſent deputies to Philip,
to offer him two hundred talents of ſilver, in caſe he
would invade either Italy or Sicily. They alſo diſ-
patched meſſengers to their own generals, who were
then in Italy, with inſtructions to raiſe all poſſible
commotions to keep Scipio at home. They ſent to
Mago not only deputies but 25 ſhips of war, 6000

CHAP. IV.

foot, 800 horſe, 7 elephants, and large ſums for hiring auxiliary troops, with which he might be in a condition to approach Rome and join Hannibal. Such were the meaſures the Carthaginians took to ſecure themſelves. In the mean time, while Lælius was gaining immenſe booty in the country which had neither arms nor gariſon, Maſiniſſa, who had received advice of the arrival of a Roman fleet, came to him with a ſmall number of horſe. 'He complained of 'Scipio's ſlow procedings, in not having already 'tranſported his army to Africa, while the Carthagi-'nians were in a conſternation, and Syphax, who 'wavered in his alliance, employ'd in a war with his 'neighbors; for if the latter had but time to put his 'affairs in order, he would break his alliance with the 'Romans. Adviſe then, ſaid he, ſpur on Scipio to come 'as ſoon as poſſible to Africa. As for myſelf, though 'I have been by violence diſpoſſeſſed of my domi-'nions, I will however join the Romans with conſi-'derable bodies of horſe and foot. I exhort you, 'Lælius, to leave Africa. It is very probable, that 'the fleet is ſailed from Carthage, and it is not ſafe 'to give them battle in Scipio's abſence.'

CHAP. V.

AFTER this conference, Maſiniſſa took his leave of Lælius, who ſet ſail from Hippo next day with the plunder, and returned to Sicily, where he imparted to Scipio the advice given him by Maſiniſſa. About the ſame time the ſhips, ſent from Carthage to Mago, arrived on the coaſt of Liguria between Albigaunia and Genoa. It happened that Mago lay there with his fleet. When he heard the deputies commiſſion to raiſe as great a number of troops as poſſible, he in all haſte ſummoned a diet of the Gauls and Ligurians, there being a vaſt concourſe of both people upon the ſpot. He addreſſed them to this purpoſe. 'I was ſent amongſt you to reinſtate you 'in your former liberty, and you ſee the ſuccors ſent 'me from Africa for that purpoſe. But it is entire-'ly in your power to determine with what force, 'with how great an army that war ſhould be proſe-

'cuted.

'cuted. I am well aſſured, that there are two Ro- CHAP.
'man armies on foot, the one in Gaul, and the other V.
'in Hetruria, and that Sp. Lucretius will join M. Li-
'vius. Therefore it is abſolutely neceſſary for you
'to put in arms as many thouſands as poſſible, to
'oppoſe theſe two generals with their armies.' The Gauls replied, 'We have the ſtrongeſt inclination to 'engage reſolutely in the affair; but the Romans 'have one camp within our territories, and another 'in Hetruria in our neighborhood, almoſt within 'ſight of us: upon the firſt intelligence of our aiding 'you, they will ſend both theſe armies into our 'country, and commit the greateſt hoſtilities. We 'entreat you then to be ſatisfied with ſuch aids as we 'can give you privately. The Ligurians may act as 'they pleaſe, becauſe their country and cities lye at 'a great diſtance from the Roman camps; and it 'is incumbent upon them to put their youth in 'arms, and engage ſtrenuouſly in the war.' The Ligurians ſoon complied, and wanted only two months ſpace to make their levies. Mean time Mago, having diſmiſſed the Gauls, privately hired men in their country. They alſo furniſhed him with all kinds of proviſions clandeſtinely. M. Livius at the head of the volones marched from Hetruria into Gaul, and joined Sp. Lucretius, putting themſelves in a condition either to meet Mago, in caſe he quitted Liguria, to approach Rome; or, if the Carthaginians remained quiet in a corner of the Alps, to continue in the country, in the neighborhood of Ariminum, for covering Italy.

WHEN Lælius returned to Sicily, Scipio, ani- CHAP.
mated by the remonſtrances of Maſiniſſa, was no VI.
leſs impatient to go to Africa, than the ſoldiers to follow him thither, when they ſaw the immenſe plunder Lælius had brought in every ſhip from thence. But this grand project was retarded by a leſs important enterprize; the recovering of Locri, which in the general defection of Italy had abandoned the Romans and gone over to the Carthagi-

CHAP. VI.

nians. The hopes they conceived of executing that project ſprung from a very ſmall cauſe. The Bruttians acted rather like open robbers than a regular army. The Numidians were the firſt who gave riſe to that practice, whom the Bruttians were very ready to follow, not ſo much from a deſire to aſſociate with the Carthaginians, as a natural inclination to follow ſuch courſes. At length the Roman ſoldiers, being infected by their example as by a contagious diſtemper, took delight in the ſame practices, and when they could obtain leave of their commanders, made incurſions upon the enemy's country. In one of their excurſions they ſeized certain Locrians who had quitted their city, and carried them priſoners to Rhegium. Among theſe captives were ſome maſons and carpenters, whom the Carthaginians had employ'd to work in the fort at Locri. Theſe tradeſmen being known by ſome principal noblemen of Locri, who being expelled their own city by the faction, which had ſurrendered Locri to Hannibal, had taken refuge at Rhegium. As it is cuſtomary with people at a diſtance from their own country, they, among other queſtions, aſked theſe workmen in what condition Locri was? In reply theſe artificers promiſed, that if they would ranſom and ſend them home, forthwith to betray the citadel to them. They told them they reſided there, and that the Carthaginians confided the care of every thing in it to them. The noblemen, animated with a deſire of ſeeing their native country again, and to be avenged upon their enemies, inſtantly paid down their ranſom, and ſent them home, after they had ſettled ſuch meaſures as were neceſſary for effecting their deſign, and agreed upon the proper ſignal. Then they repaired to Scipio at Syracuſe, where ſome of their refugees were, and informed him of what the priſoners had promiſed. They convinced the conſul that the project was practicable. In conſequence he ſent back with them two legionary tribunes, M. Sergius and P. Matienus, with orders to take with them to Locris 3000

men

men from Rhegium. He wrote alſo to the pro- CHAP. VI.
prætor Q. Pleminius to go and command that detachment. Accordingly they ſet out with ſcaling ladders, proportionable in length to the height of the wall, and about midnight gave the ſignal agreed upon, to thoſe who were to betray the citadel. The latter alſo let down ſcaling ladders made for the purpoſe, and received the Romans who ſcaled the wall in ſeveral places. Before they gave the leaſt alarm, they attacked the Carthaginian ſentinels, who, apprehending no danger, were all faſt aſleep. The firſt thing that was heard was the groans of the dying men. Then ſome waked in great conſternation and confuſion, not knowing the cauſe of the tumult. But at length one rouſing another, they came to underſtand the matter. Then the alarm was given, 'To 'arms, the enemy are in the citadel killing the ſen-'tinels.' The Romans had certainly been overpowered, had not they who were without the citadel, ſent up a great ſhout, while the darkneſs of the night, which made the leaſt danger appear great, hindered the enemy from perceiving whence the noiſe came. The Carthaginians ſtruck with terror, and without thinking of defending themſelves, took refuge in the other citadel, for there were two at no great diſtance from each other. The inhabitants were maſters of the city, which lying between two enemies, was upon the point of becoming the prey of which ever ſhould prove victorious. Every day ſkirmiſhes happened between parties from their citadels. Q. Pleminius commanded the Roman, and Hamilcar the Carthaginian gariſon, and both calling in aid from the neighboring places, gradually augmented the number of their ſoldiers. At length Hannibal himſelf marched to the aid of his troops, and the Romans would have been over-powered, if the populace of Locri, exaſperated with the tyranny and avarice of the Carthaginians, had not declared for their ancient allies.

CHAP. VII.

AS ſoon as Scipio was informed that Locri was in greater danger than he apprehended, and Hannibal in perſon upon the point of arriving there; leſt the gariſon, which could not retire with ſafety, ſhould be in any danger, upon the firſt favorable wind and tide, he ſet ſail from Meſſina, having left his brother Lucius governor of the place. Hannibal had already arrived upon the banks of the river Alex [a], not far diſtant from Locri, and from thence had ſent a courier to his troops, with orders to attack the Locrians and Romans as ſoon as it was day, and to continue it to favor him, who would ſurprize the city behind, whilſt all would be drawn to the place where they made the feint. About break of day, perceiving the aſſault was begun, he did not think it adviſeable to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel, leſt he ſhould be incommoded in ſo narrow a place; neither had he brought ladders with him to ſcale the walls. He ordered his men to throw their knapſacks and other baggage into a heap, and appeared in line of battle in view of the beſieged, in order to ſtrike them with terror. Then he got the ſcaling ladders, and other engines neceſſary for the ſiege in readineſs, and patrol'd round the walls with his Numidians, to find out the fitteſt place for an attack. He advanced ſo near the wall, that the man who ſtood next him, was wounded with an arrow ſhot from a croſs-bow. This accident affrighted him, for he ſounded a retreat, and encamped without reach of their artillery. The Roman fleet however arrived at Locri ſome hours before night. Scipio landed what troops he had brought, and before ſunſet entered the place with them. The next day the Carthaginians from the citadel began the aſſault, while Hannibal, having prepared ladders and every thing neceſſary for the ſcale, approached the walls. All on a ſudden the Romans, having cauſed the gates to be thrown open, made a vigorous ſally upon him, who expected nothing leſs. They

[a] Now *Alece*, runs thro' the *Further Calabria*, into the *Ionian* ſea.

fell

fell unexpectedly on two hundred men and cut them all to pieces. Hannibal retired with the reſt into his camp, as ſoon as he perceived that the conſul was in perſon at the head of his troops. Having ſent orders to thoſe in the citadel to provide for their own ſafety, he decamped the following night. Next day the gariſon ſet fire to the houſes in which they dwelt, in order to retard the enemy by the tumult, which the flames would occaſion, and having quitted the citadal in haſte rejoined Hannibal before night. CHAP. VII.

SCIPIO, ſeeing the enemy had abandoned their citadel and their camp, aſſembled the Locrians, and ſeverely reprimanded them for their revolt. He puniſhed thoſe with death who had been the authors of it, and gave their eſtates to the heads of the oppoſite faction, as a reward for their fidelity to the Romans. He added, in reſpect to the body politic of the Locrians, 'he would not take upon him to 'make grants or deprive them of their eſtates. They 'might ſend deputies to the ſenate, which would 'determine their fate as they thought reaſonable. 'In the mean time they might be aſſured, that tho' 'they deſerved no favor from the Roman people, 'they would find it better to be under the Romans 'juſtly incenſed, than they had been under the Car-'thaginians, whilſt their friends and allies.' Afterwards having left Pleminius a lieutenant general to guard the city with the troops he had brought thither, he returned to Meſſina, with thoſe that came thence with himſelf. The Locrians had been ſo cruelly oppreſſed by the Carthaginians after they revolted from the Romans, that one would think they might have born moderate oppreſſions, not only with patience, but almoſt with a kind of ſatisfaction. However, Pleminius and the Roman ſoldiers, who guarded the city under his command, ſo far exceded Hamilcar and the Carthaginian gariſon in cruelty and avarice, that it might have been ſaid, that the conteſt was not to excel in arms but in all kinds of vice. In their uſage of the unfortunate inhabitants, they CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII. they omitted nothing that makes the poor and meaner ſort hate and deteſt the power of the rich and great. They committed infamous violences on the bodies of their wives and daughters. Their avarice did not even ſpare ſacred things. They not only plundered other temples, but even ſeized the treaſure of that of Proſerpine, upon which, it is ſaid, hitherto no one had dared to lay hands except Pyrrhus, who, having by many ſacrifices atoned for his ſacrilege, brought back all the ſpoil. For as a ſtorm had ſo ſhattered and broken Pyrrhus's ſhips that nothing came ſafe aſhore, except the money, that was dedicated to that goddeſs; ſo fury and rage ſeized all thoſe that ſhared in this laſt ſacrilege, and armed the commanders againſt the commanders, and ſoldiers againſt ſoldiers.

CHAP. IX. PLEMINIUS had the chief command in the city; part of the troops brought from Rhegium were under him, and part under the legionary tribunes, Sergius and Matienus. One day as one of Pleminius's ſoldiers was running away with a ſilver cup, and purſued by the people of the houſe where he had taken it, he accidentally met the two tribunes. They immediately ordered it to be taken from him. This firſt gave riſe to ſome noiſy reflections and reproaches, and at laſt by their number increaſing inſenſibly on both ſides, to a ſcuffle, between the troops of Pleminius and thoſe of the tribunes. Pleminius's men having been worſted, ran to their general with open mouth and great indignation, ſhewing him their wounds and blood, and telling him what reproaches had been caſt upon him. In his fury he quitted his quarters inſtantly, and having ſummoned the tribunes before him, cauſed them to be ſtript, in order to be whip'd with rods. Some time was ſpent in ſtripping them, becauſe they defended themſelves, and implored the help of their ſoldiers. Accordingly the latter, fluſhed with their victory in the late ſcuffle, ran from all parts of the city, as if the ſignal had been given for a battle with the enemy. The ſight of their officers mangled with the ſtripes tranſ-

ported

ported them with a ſtill more violent rage, ſo that forgetting, not only the reſpect due to the dignity of a general, but all ſenſe of humanity, they began by mauling the lictors in a ſhameful manner. Then having cleared their way through all that could defend him, they fell upon Pleminius himſelf, gave him a thouſand blows, and after having cut off his noſe and ears, left him almoſt dead upon the ſpot. Scipio, being appriſed of this at Meſſina, returned a few days after to Locri in an hexareme, and having taken cognizance of the affair, acquitted Pleminius, continued him in the chief command of the city, declared the tribunes guilty, and ordered them to be carried to Rome in chains. After this he returned to Meſſina, and from thence to Syracuſe. But Pleminius, tranſported with rage and fury, complained that Scipio had not done him entire juſtice, and convinced that no body could make a juſt eſtimate of a cauſe, but he who had perſonally ſuffered, ordered the tribunes to be dragged before him. After having made them ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments human nature could bear, he put them to death. And not contented with having deprived them of life, he cauſed their bodies to be left unburied. He exerciſed the ſame cruelty on the noblemen of Locri, who he heard were going to Scipio to complain of his inhuman oppreſſion and injuſtice, and from thenceforth his anger and rage made him redouble the exceſſes, to which only his avarice and luſt had prompted him before. He therefore not only became the object of the curſes and abhorrence of the public, but even reflected diſgrace upon the general who had put him in office.

CHAP. IX.

THE time for the elections of conſuls drew near. The conſul Licinius wrote to Rome, informing the ſenate, 'that he and his army were grievouſly af-'flicted with the plague, and that it would have 'been impoſſible to ſtand it out againſt the enemy, 'if their camp alſo had not been viſited, and that in 'a ſeverer degree, with the ſame diſtemper. For this 'reaſon,

CHAP. X.

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'reaſon, not being able to come to Rome in perſon, 'he would, if the ſenate ſhould approve it, nominate 'Q. Cæcilius Metellus dictator to hold the comitia. 'It was for the intereſt of the republic to diſband 'Metellus's army, becauſe it could no longer be of 'ſervice, as Hannibal's troops were retired into win. 'ter quarters. Beſides the plague had made ſuch 'dreadful havock amongſt them, that not ſo much 'as a ſingle man would be left alive, if they were 'not ſeparated as ſoon as poſſible.' The ſenate anſwered the conſul, that they left him at liberty to act as he ſhould judge moſt for his own credit, and the good of the commonwealth. About the ſame time a ſuperſtitious humor ſuddenly ſeized the city, on account of a prophecy found in the Sybilline books, when they were conſulting them concerning frequent ſhowers of ſtones that fell that year. The prophecy was, 'that if a foreign enemy ſhould invade Italy, 'he might be vanquiſhed and driven out of it, if 'Cybele[a], mother of the Gods, were brought from 'Peſſinus

[a] The ancient monuments generally repreſent the goddeſs Cybele, under the figure of a woman crowned with a tower; to repreſent the walled cities that cover the ſurface of the earth. She appears on medals ſeated in a chariot, drawn by lions, to ſhew the empire of nature, or the earth, over even the moſt ſavage Beaſts; becauſe they receive life and nouriſhment from her. The party-colcured robe which ſhe wears, is a natural repreſentation of that variety of flowers which beſpangle the fields and meadows. The key in her hand, repreſents winter froſts, which as it were lock up all ſeeds in the boſom of the earth; and the heat of the ſun, which revives plants, and opens a free paſſage for their buds. In ſeveral other medals, ſhe appears ſitting down; which poſture is a proper emblem of the ſtability of the earth. The drum in her hand, is a ſymbolical repreſentation of the winds, which are formed in ſubterranecus gulphs. The mythologiſts have married the goddeſs Cybele, ſometimes to Cælus, and ſometimes to Saturn, or Cronos, to whom Orpheus gives the name of Protogonos, or the firſt father. This double marriage is an allegory, ſignifying time, repreſented by Saturn, and the influences of the heavens, which concur in the production of all things. In a word, by comparing the mother of the Gods with ſeveral other Pagan divinities, it appears that the Pagan mythologiſts have united in Cybele, as well as in Iſis, all the different properties that are aſcribed to Ceres, Juno, the Moon, Minerva, Proſerpine, Thetis, Bellona, Diana, Venus, Hecate, and eſpecially Veſta. According to Diodorus Siculus, ſhe was the daughter of Meon, king of *Phrygia*, and of Dyndime; and having been expoſed after her birth, on mount *Cybele*, had been brought up by a lioneſs. After this, ſome ſhepherds in the neighborhood picked her up, educated her, and gave her the name of the mountain. As ſhe grew up, her beauty, good-nature, and ſkill in certain remedies for ſick children, gained her the love of all the neighborhood. The Phrygians gloried alſo in having been taught by Cybele to touch the flute, and

'Pessinus [b] to Rome.' The senators were the more affected with this prediction, found in the Sybil's books by the Decemvirs, as the deputies, who had carried the offering to Delphi, reported that as they were sacrificing, the entrails were all favorable, and Apollo Pythicus had answered, 'that the Romans 'were upon the point of gaining a much greater 'victory over the enemy, than that which had occasioned the sending of the presents now offered to 'him.' To complete their hope, they added Scipio's confident demand of the province of Africa, as an assured presage, that he would terminate that war. Therefore to hasten the gaining of this victory foretold by the fates, presages and oracles, they deliberated on proper measures to be taken for bringing the goddess to Rome. CHAP. X.

THE Romans had then no alliance with any of the states of Asia; yet calling to mind that they had sent for Æsculapius out of Greece, in order to cure the people then laboring under grievous distempers, even though no treaty of alliance subsisted between CHAP. XI.

and dance to the sound of the cymbal: And for the Benefits they received from her, they gave her the title of the mother of the mountains. Then the fame of the princess soon reached Meon's palace; and he owned his daughter. But he discovered her unlawful amours with *Atis*, which cost the young shepherd his life. The king passed sentence of death upon him. As for Cybele, she was not able to bear the loss of her lover. She was overwhelmed with sorrow, and in the transports of her grief ran about the mountains of *Phrygia*, with her hair dishevelled, and gave herself up to fury and despair. The air resounded with her shrieks and groans, which she mixed with the sound of the tympanum. Massyas, affected with her misfortunes, accompanied her in her rambles; and as she was thus roving, she knew not whither, Apollo saw, and fell in love with her. The new admirer, drawn by his passion, followed her in her travels, quite into the northern country, and there the princess died. Some time afterwards, a terrible plague raged in *Phrygia*; and the oracle, upon being consulted, answered, That, in order to put a stop to the contagion, it was necessary to bury Atis, and decree divine honors to Cybele. The Phrygians could not recover the body of the shepherd; but they supplied that defect, by erecting a statue to him, after having expiated his death with tears, and instituted sacred feasts to his memory. And from that time they honored Cybele as a goddess. By the direction of king Midas, a stately temple was erected to her in *Pessinus*; and at the foot of her statue were placed lions and leopards, in memory of her education. The worship of this pretended goddess prevailed in the chief countries in the world, especially in *Syria*, where she was adored under the title of Mater Deorum, and Mater Phrygiæ, as we shall observe hereafter. In the mean time, the reader may have recourse to Lucian's work, on the Syrian goddess, and her minister Atis. [See Sir Isaac Newton's account of Cybele.]

[b] Now a small village in *Natolia* called *Possene*.

the

CHAP. XI.

the two nations, and that they had made a league with king Attalus againſt Philip their common enemy, they made no doubt, but that he would exert himſelf to ſerve the Roman people in this affair. In conſequence, they agreed to ſend as deputies to him, M. Cæcilius Metellus, who had been prætor, Ser. Sulpicius Galba, an ædile, and two queſtors, C. Tremellius Flaccus, and M. Valerius Falto. Five quinqueremes were aſſigned them, that they might appear with dignity among the ſtates they were ſent to, and give them an high idea of the Roman people. In their voyage to Aſia they touched at Delphi, where they conſulted the oracle, to know what ſucceſs they ſhould have in the buſineſs about which they were ſent. They were anſwered, 'that by the 'aſſiſtance of king Attalus, they ſhould obtain what 'they deſired; but when they had fetched the god-'deſs to Rome, they ſhould take care to have her re-'ceived by the moſt virtuous man in the republic.' They arrived at Pergamus, from whence Attalus, after having received them in a very obliging manner, conducted them to Peſſinus in Phrygia. He there put into their hands a ſacred ſtone, which the inhabitants call the mother of the Gods, and deſired them to carry it to Rome. When they were upon the point of arriving, M. Valerius Falto, one of the deputies, ſet out before the reſt to give notice, that the goddeſs was coming, and to deſire they would find out the moſt virtuous man in the ſtate, to receive and lodge her at her landing.

Q. Cæcil. Metellus dictator, L. Vetur. Philo general of horſe.

Q. Cæcilius Metellus was declared dictator by the conſul in the country of the Bruttii, in order to hold the comitia for the election of the magiſtrates, and his army diſbanded. L. Veturius Philo was choſen his general of horſe. The dictator held the comitia, in which M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus were choſen conſuls, though the latter was then in Greece, of which province he had the government. After that, F. Claudius Nero, M. Martius Ralla, L. Scribonius Libo, and M. Pomponius Matho were created prætors. When the elections

M. Cornelius Cethegus, and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, conſuls, Y. of R. 547. B. J. C. 205.

elections were finiſhed the dictator abdicated his office. The Roman games were celebrated thrice over, and the Plebeian ſeven times. Cneius and L. Cornelius Lentulus were the two curule ædiles, the latter of which had Spain aſſigned him for his province; he was both choſen to, and enjoy'd his office in his abſence. T. Claudius Aſellus, and M. Junius Pennus were the plebeian ædiles. That ſame year M. Marcellus conſecrated the temple of Virtue near the gate Capena, ſeventeen years after his father, during his firſt conſulſhip, had ſolemnly vowed it at Claſtidium in Gaul. M. Æmilius Regillus a prieſt of Mars died that year. CHAP. XI.

FOR the two preceding years the affairs in Greece had been much neglected. Therefore king Philip finding the Ætolians abandoned by the Romans, in whom they confided as their only reſource, obliged them to make peace with him on his own terms. Had he not exerted himſelf to have it ſoon finiſhed, P. Sempronius the proconſul, who came to ſucceede Sulpicius, had certainly overpowered him with an army of 10000 foot, a 1000 horſe, and a fleet of 30 men of war, which was a very conſiderable army to aid an ally. The peace was not well concluded, when Philip received intelligence that the Romans had appeared off Dyrrachium [a], that the Parthini [b], and other neighboring nations were riſen up in arms expecting a revolution, and had laid ſiege to Dimales [c]. The Romans, though ſent to aid the Etolians, yet diſſatisfied that they had made peace with Philip without their conſent, as being contrary to the treaty between them, had marched to that place. Philip, informed of this, went by long routs to Apollonia, in order to prevent any further commotions among the adjacent nations. Sempronius had retired thither, having ſent his lieutenant Lætorius with a part of his forces and fifteen ſhips of war into Ætolia, to look into the ſituation of affairs there, and, if poſſible, to break the peace. Philip CHAP. XII.

[a] Now Durazzo on the Adriatic ſea. [b] Vol. III. 444 *a*. [c] Ibid. 470. *a*.

CHAP. XII.

ravaged the lands of Apollonia, and advancing to the city, offered the Romans battle. But finding, that they kept quiet within the walls, and that he had not ſufficient force to attack the city, being mighty anxious to make a treaty with the Romans, as he had done with the Ætolians, or at leaſt if he could not obtain that, to procure a ceſſation of arms, he retired into his kingdom without irritating them by farther hoſtilities. Much about the ſame time the Epirotes, weary of this tedious war, having firſt ſounded the inclinations of the Roman people upon that point, ſent deputies to king Philip to negotiate a general peace, being confident that it would take effect, if he would only condeſcend to have an interview with Sempronius the Roman general. Philip, not being averſe to the propoſal, eaſily conſented and went to Epirus. There the king had a conference with Eropus, Dardas and Philip prætors of the Epirotes, and at laſt had an interview with Sempronius. Aminander, king of the Athamanes[a], was preſent at that meeting, as alſo other magiſtrates of the Epirotes and Acarnanes. Philip the prætor ſpoke firſt, and beg'd of king Philip and the Roman general to put an end to the war, and allow the Epirotes to do the ſame. P. Sempronius propoſed the conditions of the peace, viz. That the Parthini, Demales, Bargulum[b], and Eugenium[c], ſhould become ſubject to the Romans; but that Atintania[d], if the Roman ſenate, upon a deputation ſent to them for the purpoſe, agreed to it, ſhould be given to Philip. When the peace was agreed on, Philip included in it Pruſias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Theſſalians, the Acarnanes, and the Epirotes. The Romans comprehended the Ilians[e], king Attalus, Pleuratus, Nabis king of Lacedæmon, the Eleans, Meſſenians, and Athenians. Theſe articles being ſigned,

[a] A city of *Epirus* ſituated beyond the *Achelous*, between *Theſſaly Acarnania* and *Ætolia*.

[b] Unknown.

[c] Unknown to the ancient geographers.

[d] Vol. III. 445. *a*.

[e] So called from the city *Ilion* in *Eordea*.

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sealed and agreed upon, there was a ceſſation of arms for two months, to give time to ſend deputies to Rome, to get them confirmed by the people. The tribes unanimouſly ratified them, becauſe, being determined to carry the whole force of their arms into Africa, they thought it adviſeable to ſuperſede the war in all other places for the preſent juncture. Sempronius, having concluded the peace, returned to Rome to enter upon his conſulate. CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XII.

WE come now to the fifteenth year of the ſecond Punic war, in which the conſuls M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius had theſe provinces aſſigned them. Cornelius had Hetruria, with the command of the Veteran troops: Sempronius Bruttium, with commiſſion to make new levies. The following provinces fell to the prætors, viz. That of the city to M. Marcius, the juriſdiction over foreigners with Gaul to L. Scribonius Libo, Sicily to M. Pomponius Matho, and Sardinia to T. Claudius Nero. Scipio had his commiſſion renewed to command the ſame army and fleet for the enſuing year. P. Licinius alſo, with two legions, was to remain in Bruttium as long as the conſul ſhould think it could be of any ſervice to the commonwealth. M. Livius and Sp. Lucretius were continued at the head of the two legions, with which they had defended Gaul againſt Mago. Cn. Octavius was ordered, upon his delivering up to Claudius Sardinia and the legion under his command, to guard the coaſts with forty men of war, within the bounds preſcribed him by the ſenate. M. Pomponius the prætor was to command two legions of the army that had been at Cannæ. T. Quinctius and C. Hoſtilius Tubulus, the proprætors, to have Tarentum and Capua, with the command of the gariſons they had the year before. It was referred to the people to name the proconſuls for Spain. They unanimouſly continued in that province L. Cornelius Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus, who governed it the preceding year. The conſuls began to make

the new levies for Bruttium, and to recruit the other armies purſuant to an act of ſenate.

CHAP. XIV. THOUGH the ſenate had not openly conferred the government of Africa upon any perſon, to prevent the Carthaginians from getting intelligence of their deſigns, yet the city was in great hopes, that this campaign in Africa would be deciſive, and that the Punic war was drawing to an end. Their minds were filled with a religious ſuperſtition, and they were inclined to believe vain reports of prodigies. That two ſuns were ſeen at the ſame time, and an extraordinary light had appeared in the night. At Setia a comet was ſeen to extend itſelf from eaſt to weſt. A gate at Terracina, and at Anagnia, not only a gate but likewiſe a wall, was ſtruck with lightning. In the temple of Juno Soſpita at Lanuvium, a dreadful noiſe with a terrible craſh had been heard. To expiate all theſe prodigies, a ſupplication was appointed for one day, and a feſtival for nine days, becauſe it had rained ſtones. Add to all this, their being embarraſſed about the reception of Cybele mother of the Gods. M. Valerius, one of the deputies, diſpatched before the reſt, told them that in a ſhort time ſhe would be in Italy, and a later courier brought advice that ſhe was already arrived at Terracina[a]. The great difficulty with the fathers was to find out the man of ſuperior virtue in the commonwealth. There was not a ſingle citizen, who would not have preferred this preference juſtly acquired to all the commands and dignities, that could be obtained by the ſuffrages of the ſenate or people. This honorable deſtination fell upon Scipio ſon of Cneius, who was killed in Spain, a young man under the legal age to be choſen queſtor. Had thoſe hiſtorians who lived neareſt theſe times told what were the remarkable virtues that induced this choice, I ſhould have ſet them down at large. But I will not inſert my own conjectures about a thing bury'd in the ruins of antiquity. Young Scipio had orders

[a] Vol. II. 46. *a*. 291. *a*.

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to go to Oſtia with all the Roman ladies to meet the Goddeſs to take her out of the ſhip, and put her into the hands of the women. When the veſſel arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, he went according to order aboard a pinnace and ſailed down the river. There he received the Goddeſs from the prieſts, and brought her to land. She was delivered to the chief ladies of the city, among whom was Claudia Quinta, whoſe reputation had till then been dubious; but the religious ſervice ſhe performed at this time tranſmited a fairer character for chaſtity of her to ſucceding ages. The ladies relieved one another in carrying this glorious burden, and entered the city, from which the people came out in crowds to meet the Goddeſs. All the way vaſes ſmoking with incenſe were placed before the gates of the houſes to honor her as ſhe paſſed, while prayers were addreſſed to her to enter Rome willingly. She was placed in the temple of Victory, upon mount Palatine, upon the 24th of March, and this day became a feſtival among the Romans ever after. There was not a ſingle citizen, even to the loweſt, who did not carry his offering to mount Palatine. The following days the ceremony of the lectiſternum was performed, and games were exhibited called Megaleſian [a].

CHAP. XIV.

[a] The Megaleſian games were annually celebrated at *Rome*, on the hill *Palatinus*, in honor to the Mother of the Gods, or Megale Mater, that is, the great mother; and near her temple. The prieſts appeared at Rome in their richeſt habits, ſacrificed to the Goddeſs, and celebrated the games to her honour; but without deviating at all from ancient cuſtom, or exceding the bounds preſcribed by the laws. It was cuſtomary for the Roman ladies to ſing and dance before the ſtatue of the Goddeſs, according to St. Auſtin, B. 2. De Civit. Dei. c. 4. The citizens of *Rome*, during theſe rejoicing days, gave each other mutual marks of affection and love. They met together, and invited one another to entertainments, at wfiich care was taken to revive the ancient frugality. The theatrical ſports, which were then preſented, contributed much to the public joy; and the magiſtrates appeared at them in purple; and no ſlave was admitted to them, according to Cicero, in bis diſcourſe on the anſwers of the Aruſpices. Only Perſons of free condition could enjoy the pleaſures of this ſight. But it is hard to gueſs, upon what reaſons this exception was founded. The ancients likewiſe ſpeak of ſome other ſolemnities eſtabliſhed at *Rome* in honor to Cybele. Such was the ceremony which was conſtantly practiſed, of carrying the image of Cybele in ſtate, out of the city, near the place where the little river *Almon* loſes itſelf in the *Tyber*. This is the rivulet which is now called *Accia*, or *Aqua d'Accia*. The prieſts of Cybele, the quindecemviri, who were the guardians of the Sybilline books, and the magiſtrates of *Rome*, according to Lucan, Pharſal. B. 1. all come to this place, and there waſhed

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WHILE the ſenators were deliberating upon the recruits for the legions which were then in the provinces, ſome of them remonſtrated, that the commonwealth by the favor of the Gods being at

waſhed the chariot that carried the image of the Goddeſs, the image itſelf, and all the ornaments which the prieſts uſed to wear. It was a received tradition, that the ſtatue of Cybele had been waſhed by one of the Galli, or Archigalli, who brought this ſacred depoſitum from *Peſſinus* to *Rome* before it was placed in the temple of Victory. And the Romans made it a conſtant rule, to renew the ſame ceremony every year, on the ſixth of the calends of April, or the 27th day of March. Herodian, in his life of the emperor Commodus, mentions the homages which the Romans paid to Cybele, about the end of the month of March. Her ſtatue was ſolemnly carried into the ſtreets of the city on a rich bier. The emperor and grandees made it matter of duty, to hang out, during the proceſſion, the richeſt and moſt valuable things. This ſtately apparatus drew the eyes of all ſpectators, and made a moſt magnificent ſight. The reſt of the day was ſpent in maſquerades of all ſorts. Every one was then permitted to diſguiſe himſelf; ſo that ſome of the dregs of the people appeared at this feſtival, in the habits, and counterfeiting the dignity, of magiſtrates. And St. Auſtin tells, that theſe metamorphoſed animals acted their parts in the proceſſions of Cybele. This father, who was an eye-witneſs of all the obſcenities that were committed in theſe licentious times, cried out with indignation againſt the impudence of ſome buffoons who accompanied the ſtatue. They did not bluſh, ſays he, to ſing the moſt obſcene ſongs, and openly violate the rules of modeſty, by laſcivious poſtures. This is the ſame feſtival that Macrobius calls Hilaria, in his Saturnalia, B. 1. c. 21. He places it on the eighth of the calends of April, that is, the 25th day of March. The ſun then entered the equinox, according to the common opinion of thoſe times, began a new career, and brought fine weather. The earth, which is repreſented by Cybele, feels the kindly warmth of that planet, at the return of the ſpring, and ſeems to open her boſom, to enrich the world with her gifts. And hence theſe demonſtrations of joy, at a time when more mild and ſerene weather rejoiced all nature. The ninth of the calends of April, or the 24th of March, the day before the feſtival of the Hilaria, was ſpent in mourning. The people, according to Macrobius, put on appearances of grief, perhaps to repreſent the gloomy clouds of winter. And this ſudden tranſition from ſorrow to joy was probably a repreſentation of the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, which ſucceded one another. Tertullian in his apology, and Trebellius Pollio, in his life of the emperor Claudius, tells us, that the Archigallus, who was devoted to the worſhip of Cybele, made cruel inciſions in his arms, on this day of mourning, caught the blood which run out of his wounds, and offered it to the Goddeſs by way of libation. And therefore the laſt mentioned author calls the ninth of the calends of April, *Dies Sanguinis*, or the day of blood. And as pines were conſecrated to Cybele, it was an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to carry one of theſe trees into the temple of the Goddeſs, in the beginning of the ſpring. The emperor Julian mentions this cuſtom in his diſcourſe on the mother of the Gods. He tells us, that on the day of the equinox, the pine-tree was cut down, and then offered to the Goddeſs. And Arnobius has preſerved ſome traces of this cuſtom in the following paſſage of the fifth book. *Quid enim ſibi vult illa pinus, quam ſemper, ſtatis diebus, in Deum matris intromittitis ſanctuarium?* The trunk of the tree was bound round with wool, and adorned with crowns of violets. In the middle was placed the figure of the ſhepherd Atis, whom Cybele moſt tenderly loved. And ſome calendars of old *Rome* point out this ceremony, by the words *Arbor intrat*. It is fixed to the eleventh of the calends of April, that is, the 21ſt day of March.

length

length delivered from the dangers and fears which had alarmed it, during ſo many years, it was time to ſuffer no longer what thoſe unhappy conjunctures had obliged them to tolerate. This propoſal having excited the curioſity and attention of the ſenate, they added, that the twelve Latin colonies, which in the conſulſhip of Q. Fabius and Q. Fulvius had refuſed to furniſh their contingents, had enjoyed, during almoſt ſix years, an entire exemption from all the expences of the war, as if it had been an honorable privilege granted them for their good ſervices; whilſt their dutiful and obedient allies, in reward of their fidelity, were exhauſted by levies made every year in their country. This diſcourſe, putting the ſenators in mind of a kind of rebellion, which they had almoſt forgot, at the ſame time revived their rage and indignation. Accordingly the ſenate being deſirous that this affair ſhould be regulated before any other, decreed, that the conſuls ſhould order the twelve colonies, viz. Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carſeoli, Sora, Sueſſa, Setia, Circei, Narnia and Interamna, to ſend their magiſtrates and ten of their principal citizens to Rome. Then they ſhould command each to ſupply the Roman people with 120 horſe, and twice the number of foot, they had ever furniſhed ſince the enemy came to Italy. That if any of them had not horſe, they ſhould be allowed to ſupply three foot ſoldiers for each horſeman. But that they ſhould take care to chooſe them out of the richeſt citizens, and to ſend them out of Italy, whenever there was occaſion for recruits. That if any of them ſhould refuſe to obey, their magiſtrates and deputies ſhould be laid under an arreſt, without being allowed audience, when they demanded it, till they had complied. That further the ſame colonies ſhould pay a tax of one as for every thouſand aſſes they poſſeſſed, that their cenſus ſhould be taken according to the form uſed at Rome, and the tax be the ſame that was laid on the Roman people, and that their cenſors, before they quitted their office,

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ſhould deliver in their accounts at Rome upon oath. In virtue of this decree the magiſtrates and principal perſons of the colonies were cited to Rome, whence the conſuls ordered them to make the levies and raiſe the tax. They all refuſed, ſome in a more and others in a leſs obſtinate manner, repreſenting, 'that 'they were not able to ſupply ſo great a number of 'ſoldiers. They could ſcarce, when they exerted 'their utmoſt, furniſh the contingent in the treaty. 'They deſired and conjured them to grant them an 'audience of the ſenate, in order to make their re-'monſtrances. What crime had they committed to 'deſerve being puniſhed ſo ſeverely! neither their 'own fault nor the anger of the ſenate could make 'them furniſh more ſoldiers than they had.' The conſuls ordered the deputies to be kept at Rome, and the magiſtrates ſent into their colonies to raiſe the troops, declaring to them that they ſhould have no audience, till they brought the full number of men required of them. Thus having no hopes of redreſs from the ſenate, they made the levies preſcribed them in the twelve colonies, and eaſily found the number of ſoldiers demanded, becauſe their youth had time to increaſe, during ſo many years as they had enjoyed a total exemption from military ſervice.

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ANOTHER affair, which had been buried in ſilence near as long as the former, was brought on the carpet by M. Valerius Lævinus. He ſaid that he thought it reaſonable to pay the ſeveral private perſons the ſums they had advanced for the ſervice of the commonwealth, during his conſulſhip, and that of M. Claudius. 'That no body ought to wonder 'at his intereſting himſelf about the diſcharge of a 'debt for which the public faith was engaged. For 'beſides it's being contracted in the year in which he 'was conſul, he himſelf had made the motion for 'that voluntary contribution, when the public trea-'ſury was exhauſted, and the people not in a condi-'tion to pay the ordinary taxes.' His preſent motion

tion was approved by the whole ſenate, and the conſuls, having been deſired to bring the affair upon the carpet, it was decreed, 'That thoſe debts ſhould be 'diſcharged at three payments; the firſt to be made 'immediately by the conſuls for the current year, 'and the two others by thoſe who ſhould be in office 'the third and fifth years following.' All the care and attention of the ſtate was engroſſed by the deputies from Locri, complaining of the ill treatment they had ſuffered, and of which the Romans had been ignorant till now. The public indignation ſhewed itſelf leſs againſt the crimes and impiety of Pleminius, than againſt the inexcuſable negligence and partiality of Scipio. The ten deputies of the Locrians, in a neglected and ſordid dreſs, preſented themſelves like ſuppliants, with olive branches in their hands, according to the cuſtom of the Greeks, to the conſuls, on their tribunal, in the forum, and proſtrated themſelves at their feet, with tears and bitter lamentations. The conſuls having aſked who they were, they anſwered, they were Locrians, who had ſuffered ſuch cruel injuries from Pleminius, and the Roman ſoldiers, as the Roman people never would have allowed to have been inflicted on the Carthaginians themſelves. They humbly beg'd to have audience of the ſenate in order to lay their grievances before it.

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WHEN they had obtained audience, the eldeſt of them made the following pathetic ſpeech. 'I am 'ſenſible, conſcript fathers, that in order to your 'forming a juſt idea of our grievances, it is highly 'neceſſary you ſhould know, in what manner Locri 'was delivered up to Hannibal, and how we return'ed to our duty to you, after having expelled the 'Carthaginian gariſon. If we can evidently demon'ſtrate, that the ſtate of Locri was not concerned in 'the revolt, and that it was not only with our con'ſent, but by our ſtrenuous endeavors and courage, 'that you regained poſſeſſion of our city, you will 'be more highly exaſperated with the atrocious and

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'enormous outrages, which your lieutenant and ſoldiers have exerciſed upon us your good and faithful allies. But I believe it proper to leave the explanation of the cauſes, that occaſioned this double reſolution, to another time, and that for two reaſons. Firſt, that this affair may be treated in the preſence of Scipio, who retook our city, and can witneſs all we have done, either good or bad. In the ſecond place, that in whatever manner we may have acted with reſpect to you, we certainly ought not to have ſuffered as we have done. We cannot deny, fathers, that as long as Hamilcar gariſoned our citadel, with his Numidians and Africans, we did ſuffer inhuman and horrid treatment both from him and them: but what we ſuffered from them, bears no proportion to our preſent miſeries. I beg, conſcript fathers, that you will hear with patience, what I cannot utter without extreme reluctance. All nations expect in ſuſpence, whether the Romans or Carthaginians ſhall become their maſters. Now if the matter was to be determined by the injuries we have received from the Carthaginians, or thoſe we actually receive now from your gariſon, every perſon would prefer their government to yours. However hear the real ſentiments of the Locrians in reſpect to you. When we ſuffered much leſs cruel treatment from the Carthaginian gariſon, we had recourſe to your generals. And now when your gariſon exerciſe much greater hoſtilities upon us, to you only we addreſs our complaints. If you, conſcript fathers, will ſhew no compaſſion for our melancholy circumſtances, we have nothing further to requeſt of the immortal Gods. Q. Pleminius your governor was ſent with a body of troops to retake Locri from the Carthaginians, and continue there with the ſame to gariſon it. This officer (for the extremity of our miſeries gives us courage to ſpeak our minds freely) has nothing either of the man, but the figure, or of the Roman, except the dreſs and language. He is a monſter, a voracious

wild

'wild beaſt, ſuch as fable ſuppoſes to inhabit the CHAP.
'ſtraights, which ſeparate us from Sicily, to devour XVII.
'thoſe, who ſail along the coaſts. Yet were he the
'only one who exerciſed his avarice, villainy and luſt
'over your allies, we might perhaps by our patience
'have found means to glut this unfathomable gulph.
'But he has given ſuch a looſe to licentiouſneſs and
'diſorder, that he has made every centurion and ſol-
'dier a Pleminius. All of them rob, plunder,
'ſcourge, wound, and murder. They raviſh our
'wives, deflower our daughters, and diſhonor our
'ſons, after having torn them by force from our em-
'braces. Every day is like the day in which our city
'was taken by ſtorm and plundered. Every day and
'night our ſtreets reſound with the mournful cries
'of women and children drag'd by force to proſtitu-
'tion. In truth it is inconceivable how we could
'ſupport ſuch inhuman treatment ſo long, and that
'the actors are not cloy'd with committing ſuch bar-
'barities. It is not poſſible for me to give a ſuffi-
'cient detail of our ſufferings, neither is it worth
'your while to hear it. In one word therefore, there
'has not been one family, nor a ſingle perſon, who
'has been exempt from their cruelty. All kinds of
'villainy, luſt and avarice have been perpetrated,
'upon thoſe who were fit ſubjects to ſuffer them. I
'can hardly determine, whether our preſent circum-
'ſtances be not more mournful, than when our city
'was taken by the enemy, or when it was oppreſſed
'by the boundleſs avarice, and unheard of cruelty
'of a barbarous tyrant. We have ſuffered all the
'misfortunes which a captive city could have done,
'and even at this preſent juncture labor under the
'extremeſt miſeries. Pleminius, conſcript fathers, has
'exerciſed on us, our wives and children, all the acts
'of oppreſſion that the moſt cruel and exorbitant
'tyrant could have done.'

'But, conſcript fathers, there is one circumſtance CHAP.
'which our inherent ſenſe of religion obliges us in XVIII.
'particular to put you in mind of; and we beg, if

'it

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'it ſeem meet to you, your commonwealth may be 'purged of the guilt of ſuch a ſacrilegious crime. 'We ſee with our eyes with how great reverence you 'not only worſhip your own Gods, but even receive 'thoſe of foreign countries. We have a temple of 'Proſerpine, the ſanctity of which you no doubt have 'heard mentioned during your war with Pyrrhus. 'Upon his return from Sicily, he landed on our 'coaſt, and for our inviolable fidelity to you, among 'other hoſtilities, he ſacrilegiouſly plundered the 'temple of Proſerpine of treaſure, which had been 'untouched to that very day. He ſent it on board 'his ſhips, and marched himſelf by land. What, 'illuſtrious fathers, was the event of this? His fleet 'was ſhattered with a dreadful ſtorm, and all the 'ſhips that had the treaſures of the Goddeſs aboard 'were drove aſhore on our coaſt. This terrible diſ-'aſter at length opened the eyes of that haughty 'prince, he owned there were Gods, and cauſed all the 'money to be carried back to the temple of Proſer-'pine. Notwithſtanding he was unfortunate ever 'after. Being driven out of Italy, he ended his 'days at Argos, which he entered by night very 'unadviſedly, by a death equally unhappy and un-'worthy of his former glory. Though your go-'vernor and legionary tribunes were informed of this, 'and a great many other circumſtances, not with a 'deſign to increaſe the belief of the ſanctity of the 'place, but to ſhew the power and preſence of the 'Goddeſs, whereof we and our anceſtors have often 'had proof, yet they have dared to lay ſacrilegious 'hands on theſe inviolable treaſures, and have con-'taminated themſelves, their houſes, and your ſol-'diers with ſo abominable a prey. Let me conjure 'you, conſcript fathers, by your wonted piety to 'puniſh their ſacrilege, before you enter upon ac-'tion in Italy, or carry the war into Africa, leſt their 'guilt be atoned for not only with their own blood, 'but by ſome misfortune to your ſtate. The God-'deſs already has begun to take vengeance on your

captains and ſoldiers. They have ſeveral times engaged with one another. Pleminius was at the head of one party, and two legionary tribunes at that of the other. They fought not with greater animoſity againſt the Carthaginians than againſt each other. By this phrenzy they had given Hannibal an opportunity of recovering Locri, had not Scipio been ſent for to our relief. But ſome may ſay, that this madneſs hath only ſeized the ſoldiers guilty of the ſacrilege, but the Goddeſs hath not yet given proofs of her power in puniſhing their commanders? This is a groſs miſtake, for ſhe has ſhewn her diſpleaſure againſt them moſt remarkably. Pleminius ordered the tribunes to be whipt with rods, and he, in his turn, being entrap'd by them, had not only his body mangled, but after having his noſe and ears cut off, was left half dead upon the ſpot. When he had recovered of his wounds, he ordered the tribunes to be laid in irons, to be whipt, and after ſuffering the moſt exquiſite torments, at length to be put to death, as if they had been the moſt vile ſlaves; nay, when dead, would not allow their bodies to be interred. Thus has the Goddeſs been avenged upon the violators of her temple. Neither will ſhe deſiſt from inflicting puniſhments upon them, till they return her treaſures into their proper place. Our anceſtors once, when engaged in a very dangerous war with the Crotonians, becauſe that temple was built without the city, would have removed theſe treaſures into it. But a voice was heard in the night time, bidding them refrain from ſuch an action; for the Goddeſs was able to defend her own temple. Being thereupon afraid to remove the treaſures, they reſolved to incloſe the temple with a wall. When it was raiſed to a good height, it all tumbled down in an inſtant. So that the Goddeſs always hath guarded her own temple, both at that juncture and at other times; or when it happened to be rifled, the ſacrilege was puniſhed in a moſt remark-

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'able manner. As to the injuries we have ſuſtained, 'we never have had nor ſhall have recourſe to any 'other for redreſs than to yourſelves. Wherefore, 'conſcript fathers, it is to you we fly for protection. 'If you allow Pleminius and his gariſon to continue 'in our city, we ſhall look upon ourſelves to be in as 'bad a condition, as if you delivered us up to be pu-'niſhed by Hannibal and his Carthaginians our moſt 'inveterate enemies. We do not aſk you to give cre-'dit to our complaints immediately, and that you 'ſhould condemn Pleminius unheard: let him ap-'pear in perſon, let him hear our accuſations, let 'him clear himſelf. If he has not exerciſed upon 'us every kind of barbarity, that man could do on 'his fellow creatures, we do not refuſe to be deli-'vered up again to his fury and brutality, and he at 'the ſame time exempted from all that puniſhment 'he has merited from the Gods or men.'

CHAP. XIX.

WHEN the deputies had ended their ſpeech, Fabius aſked them, whether they had complained to Scipio. They anſwered, 'that they had ſent de-'puties to him: but he was buſy in making prepa-'rations for the war, and was either embarked or 'within a few days would embark for Africa. Be-'ſides, they had experienced how much the general 'favored the governor, when upon his taking cog-'nizance of the affair between that officer and the 'tribunes, he had cauſed the latter to be impriſoned, 'but continued the former, though at leaſt as cri-'minal as they, in his office.' Then the Locrians were ordered to withdraw, and the ſenate took the affair under their conſideration. Many bitterly inveighed not only againſt Pleminius, but Scipio himſelf. Q. Fabius in particular ſaid, 'he was born to be 'the corruptor of military diſcipline. He acted ſo 'in Spain, where they loſt as much by the ſedition 'as by the war. Sometimes he indulged his troops 'in licentiouſneſs, and then tyrannized over them, 'as if he had been a foreigner and a king.' He concluded with this harſh ſentence, 'that Pleminius

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'ſhould be brought to Rome in chains, and kept 'in priſon till his trial; and if the accuſations of the 'Locrians ſhould be proved be executed in jail, and 'his whole eſtate confiſcated. That Scipio ſhould 'be recalled home, for having quitted the province 'without the ſenate's order; and that the tribunes 'of the people ſhould be deſired to move the peo-'ple to diveſt him of his command. That the Lo-'crians ſhould be anſwered upon their being called 'in, that the ſenate and people had no ſhare in the 'oppreſſions they complained of. They ſhould 'acknowledge them as perſons of worth and honor, 'as good and faithful allies; aſſure them their wives, 'children and eſtates ſhould be reſtored; an exact 'account ſhould be taken of the treaſures plundered, 'and double the ſum replaced in the temple; a ſa-'crifice of expiation ſhould be offered, after previ-'ouſly conſulting the college of pontiffs, to know 'from them the ceremonies neceſſary to be obſerved 'in it, what Gods to addreſs, and what victims to 'offer for expiating the ſacrilege of thoſe, who had 'plundered the treaſures of Proſerpine. Laſtly it was 'his opinion, that all the ſoldiers in the gariſon at 'Locri ſhould be tranſported to Sicily, and that 'four cohorts of the Latin allies ſhould be ſent thi-'ther in their room.' The diſpute was ſo warm between Scipio's friends and adverſaries, that all the votes could not be taken that day. Beſides the crimes of Pleminius, and the oppreſſion of the Locrians, Scipio was accuſed of dreſſing in a manner unbecoming not only a Roman but a ſoldier. 'He appeared 'in the gymnaſia in a Greek cloak and ſandals, 'and paſſed his time in reading Greek books and in 'the palæſtra. That his officers and his whole 'houſe lived in the ſame effeminate manner amidſt 'the pleaſures of Syracuſe. He ſeemed to have forgot 'Carthage and Hannibal. That his whole army was 'corrupted with the ſame licentiouſneſs, which had 'corrupted the ſoldiers at Sucro, and thoſe of Locri,

'and

'and he was more formidable to the Roman people 'than to their enemies.'

CHAP. XX. THOUGH theſe accuſations, partly true and partly falſe, were ſupported by ſome probability, yet the ſenate concurred in opinion with Q. Metellus, who agreed with Fabius in all points, except in what concerned Scipio. 'Is it reaſonable, ſaid he, to re-'cal him from his province, who had been appointed 'general when very young for recovering Spain; 'who, after having effected that, was created conſul 'to terminate the Punic war; who they hoped 'would force Hannibal to quit Italy, and would 'conquer Africa? Shall we recal him on a ſudden 'from his province as a Pleminius, as a perſon in 'ſome meaſure condemned without a hearing? The 'Locrians have declared, that it was in his ab-'ſence they ſuffered all the miſeries they complain-'ed of, and he could only be reproached with hav-'ing too much indulgence for the commander he 'had left in their city. It was his opinion, that the 'prætor M. Pomponius, to whom Sicily had fallen 'by lot, ſhould ſet out in three days for that pro-'vince, and that the conſuls ſhould ſend ten ſena-'tors, two tribunes of the people, and an ædile along 'with him; and that the prætor, with this council, 'ſhould take cognizance of the whole affair. If they 'ſhould diſcover that it was by Scipio's conſent or 'order, that the violences complained of had been 'exerciſed upon the Locrians, then he ſhould be or-'dered to quit his province. And in caſe he ſhould 'be gone to Africa, the two tribunes and the ædile, 'with ſuch two of the other commiſſioners, as the 'prætor ſhould chuſe, ſhould ſet out immediately for 'that country; the tribunes and ædile to bring Sci-'pio back to Rome, and the two commiſſioners to 'command the army, till a new general ſhould be 'ſent in his place. But if, on the contrary, M. Pom-'ponius, and the ten commiſſioners of the ſenate, 'ſhould find that Scipio had neither ordered nor 'connived at the oppreſſion of the Locrians, he

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'ſhould then continue at the head of his troops, and 'carry on the war according to his plan.' When the decree of the ſenate was drawn up, the tribunes of of the people were deſired, to chuſe by agreement, or by lot, the two that were to ſet out with the prætor and other commiſſioners. The college of pontiffs was conſulted upon what was neceſſary to be done, for expiating the thefts, robberies and ſacrileges committed at Locri in the temple of Proſerpine. The tribunes, who ſet out with the prætor and the commiſſioners, were M. Claudius Marcellus, and M. Cincius Alimentus. A plebeian ædile was aſſociated with them, who was by their order to ſeize Scipio, in caſe he ſhould refuſe to obey the prætor, in Sicily, or in Africa if he was gone thither, and to bring him to Rome, in virtue of the ſacred and inviolable authority annexed to the office of the tribunes of the people. CHAP. XX.

IT was thought proper that the commiſſioners ſhould repair to Locri before they went to Meſſina. We have two different reports of what paſſed relating to Pleminius. Some ſay, upon his hearing what had been tranſacted at Rome, he was going into a voluntary baniſhment to Naples, but on the way accidentally fell in with Q. Metellus, one of the commiſſioners, who brought him back to Rhegium. Others give out that Scipio himſelf ſent a lieutenant with thirty knights of diſtinction, to lay Pleminius, and all the ringleaders of the ſedition, in irons. All theſe, either by order of Scipio, or the prætor, were committed to priſon at Rhegium. Then the prætor and commiſſioners ſet out for Locri, and their firſt care was, according to the inſtructions they had received, to perform all that was required for the expiation of the ſacrilege. Having therefore ſeized the money, that Pleminius and his troops had plundered, and added to it that which they had brought with them, they replaced the whole in the temple of the Goddeſs, and offered to her an expiatory ſacrifice. The prætor afterwards aſſembled the gariſon, and ordered CHAP. XXI.

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them to quit the city, and to incamp in the midſt of the country, forbidding every ſoldier, under pain of the moſt ſevere puniſhment, to remain in the place, or to carry away any thing with him that did not belong to him. He then gave the Locrians permiſſion to take their effects wherever they could ſee or find them, and to demand back whatever might be concealed. But above all things he commanded, that all the free perſons ſhould be delivered up, threatening the greateſt chaſtiſements to thoſe, who ſhould preſume to detain them. Laſtly, having aſſembled the Locrians, he declared to them, that the Roman ſenate and people reſtored them their liberty and laws. If any of them was deſirous to proſecute Pleminius, or any other perſon, they needed only to follow him to Rhegium. If they intended to accuſe Scipio, in the name of their city, for having either ordered or approved of the violences that had been committed againſt both their Gods and men, they might ſend deputies to Meſſina, and he would there examine the whole affair with his council. The Locrians returned thanks to the prætor and commiſſioners, and to the Roman ſenate and people, adding that they would proſecute Pleminius. As to Scipio, though he ſeemed little affected with their miſeries, he was a perſon they choſe rather to have as a friend than an enemy. That they were fully convinced, it was neither by his order nor conſent, that ſuch enormous crimes had been committed. He had either given too much credit to what Pleminius ſaid, or too little to the complaints of the Locrians. It was natural for ſome perſons rather to prevent crimes, than to have reſolution enough to puniſh them, after they were committed. This diſcourſe, which juſtified Scipio, gave the prætor and commiſſioners great pleaſure, as they were thereby diſcharged from a very ungrateful part of their commiſſion. They condemned Pleminius, and about two and thirty more, whom they ſent to Rome in chains. As to themſelves they ſet out for Sicily, in order to examine in perſon, whether the reports

reports about Scipio's dreſs, indolence and neglect of diſcipline in his army had any foundation, and to give an account of them afterwards to the ſenate.

SCIPIO, having received advice, that they approached Syracuſe, prepared to vindicate himſelf by actions and not by words. He ordered his troops to aſſemble, and the fleet to hold itſelf in readineſs, as if he had been to give the Carthaginians battle that very day, both by ſea and land. The day they arrived, he entertained them at his houſe with great civility and politeneſs, and the next morning ſhewed them both the ſea and land forces in a condition to give the enemy battle. He made the land army file off before them, and the fleet to appear in line of battle in the port, repreſenting a naval engagement. He then conducted the prætor and commiſſioners to the magazines and arſenals, where they found, in abundance and in the beſt order poſſible, all the proviſions, arms and machines neceſſary for the war. The ſight of theſe preparations, as well in groſs as each by itſelf, filled them with ſuch admiration, that they remained fully convinced, if the Carthaginians could be conquered, it muſt be by this general and this army. They therefore exhorted Scipio to go to Africa, with the protection of the Gods, to accompliſh, as ſoon as poſſible, the hopes which the Roman people had conceived the day when all the centuries had elected him conſul; and they ſet out from Sicily, with the ſame joy, as if they were returning to Rome to carry the news of the victory thither, and not of the grand preparations, which Scipio had made, to put himſelf in a condition to obtain it. Pleminius and his accomplices, having been carried to Rome, were immediately put in priſon. The tribunes at firſt produced them before the people, whom they found ſo much prejudiced againſt them by the injuries they had done the Locrians, that there ſeemed no hope of mercy. But after more frequent appearances, the reſentment and indignation of the aſſembly abated. The deformity of Pleminius,

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and regard for Scipio, though abſent, contributed much to incline the multitude in their favor. However he died in priſon before the people had paſſed any ſentence upon him. But Clodius Licinius, in his third book of the Roman hiſtory, tells us, that this Pleminius, when the games were exhibited by Africanus, in his ſecond conſulate, had bribed ſome abandoned wretches, to ſet the city on fire in ſeveral places, that he might have an opportunity of breaking priſon, and making his eſcape. But the plot being diſcovered, the ſenate ordered him to be thrown into a dungeon. As to what regards Scipio, his affair was never treated any where but in the ſenate, in which all the commiſſioners and tribunes unanimouſly ſpoke, with ſuch great praiſes of his fleet, his army and his perſonal merit, that all the ſenators unanimouſly decreed he ſhould go as ſoon as poſſible to Africa, leaving him at liberty to chuſe out of the troops in Sicily, ſuch as he thought fit for his enterprize, and leave the reſt behind to guard the province.

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WHILST the Romans were buſied about theſe affairs, the Carthaginians endeavored to ſecure themſelves from the deſigns of the enemy, by erecting watch towers upon all the promontories. After having paſſed all the winter in perpetual apprehenſion, informing themſelves of every thing, and trembling on every advice they received, they at length concluded an alliance with king Syphax, which was of no ſmall importance for their defence of Africa, and at the ſame time deprived Scipio of one of the principal ſupports he had relied upon, in forming his plan for invading their country. Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſgo, was not only united with Syphax by the ties of hoſpitality, when Scipio and he from Spain met at that king's court; but there was a project of a cloſer alliance between them then ſet on foot, for the Carthaginian negotiated the marriage of his daughter Sophoniſba with the Numidian prince. Aſdrubal went to finiſh that affair, and fix a day for the nuptials, for by this time the young lady was marriagable. As

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ſoon as he perceived that Syphax was mightily captivated with her beauty, (for the Numidians are the moſt amorous people in all Africa) he immediately brought his daughter from Carthage, and haſtened the marriage. In the midſt of the feaſts and rejoicings, Aſdrubal deſired Syphax to add to the private alliance, they had lately made, a league offenſive and defenſive between the Numidians and Carthaginians. The king accepted the propoſal, and each party ratified it by oath. But the Carthaginian not having forgot the alliance Syphax had alſo ſworn with Scipio, and knowing how fickle and inconſtant the barbarians were, apprehended that the marriage with his daughter would be too weak a tie to bind him, when Scipio ſhould arrive in Africa. For this reaſon taking advantage of the Numidian prince's firſt tranſports of love, he prevailed upon him by his influences, to which the young bride added her careſſes, 'to ſend ambaſſadors to Scipio in Sicily, to 'deſire him not to invade Africa, depending upon 'his former promiſes. He had married the daugh-'ter of Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian whom he had 'ſeen at his court, and in conſequence he had made 'a public alliance with the people of Carthage. He 'adviſed him to make war againſt the Carthaginians 'far from Africa, as the Romans had done hitherto, 'in order that he might not be under the neceſſity 'of taking part in their difference, or of joining one 'ſide and declaring againſt the other. And aſſured 'him if the Romans ſhould come to attack Africa, 'and their army ſhould approach Carthage, he ſhould 'not be able to avoid fighting for Africa, which had 'given him birth, and for the country of his ſpouſe 'and father-in-law, and their Gods.'

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THE ambaſſadors whom Syphax charged with this commiſſion found Scipio at Syracuſe. Though the Roman was hereby deprived of a conſiderable reſource, upon which he had much depended for the ſucceſs of his deſigns againſt Africa, he immediately diſpatched the ambaſſadors of that prince, before the

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ſubject of their voyage was known in the army, with letters to their maſter, in which he exhorted him in the ſtrongeſt terms, 'not to violate the laws of hoſ-'pitality, or the alliance which he had made with 'the Roman people; not to injure his faith, honor 'and conſcience; nay the Gods, the witneſſes and 'avengers of breach of treaties.' But as it was not poſſible to conceal the arrival of the Numidians, who had been ſeen traverſing the city, and in the gene-ral's quarters; and that it was to be feared, on one ſide, that the motive of their voyage would be diſ-covered, by the very care taken to conceal it, and on the other, that the rumor of a war both with the Carthaginians and the Numidians, might diſcourage the troops, Scipio, to avert theſe bad effects, prepoſ-ſeſſed them with a falſe ſtory. He aſſembled his ſol-diers, and told them, 'That there was no longer 'any time to loſe. The king's allies preſſed him im-'mediately to embark for Africa. Maſiniſſa had be-'fore, in an interview with Lælius, complained of 'his dilatorineſs. Syphax had now ſent ambaſſadors 'to expreſs his ſurprize on the ſame account, and to 'deſire him either to come as ſoon as poſſible to A-'frica, or if he had changed his reſolution, to let 'him know it, that he might provide for his own 'ſafety, and that of his kingdom. Therefore as e-'very thing was ready for his departure, and it was 'not poſſible to delay any longer, his deſign was to 'ſend his fleet to Lilybæum; to rendezvous all his 'troops both horſe and foot there, and with the 'protection of the Gods to embark for Africa the 'firſt fair wind.' Accordingly he wrote to M. Pom-ponius, to meet him at Lilybæum, if he thought pro-per, in order to concert, what legions and what num-ber of troops, it was neceſſary to carry over to Africa. At the ſame time he ſent orders along the whole coaſt, for aſſembling and bringing to Lilybæum, all the tranſports that could be drawn together. All the troops and ſhips in Sicily having repaired to Lily-bæum, the city could not contain ſo many ſoldiers,

nor

nor the port ſo many veſſels, and the whole multitude had ſo much ardor for ſetting ſail, that they ſeemed to be going to Africa, not to make war, but to reap the fruits of a victory already certain. In particular the ſurviving ſoldiers of the corps that had fled from Cannæ were perſuaded, that only Scipio could give them an opportunity, by great and important ſervices, finally to wipe off their diſgrace. Scipio, on his ſide, did not deſpiſe thoſe troops. He was convinced that it was not through their cowardice, that the battle of Cannæ had been loſt, and knew that there were not older ſoldiers in all the Roman armies, or better experienced not only in the different kinds of combat, but in ſieges. Theſe troops compoſed the fifth and ſixth legions. After he received them, declaring he would take them on the expedition, he reviewed them man by man, and leaving behind ſuch as were not fit for his purpoſe, ſupply'd their places with thoſe he had brought from Italy. He alſo augmented their number to 6200 foot, and 300 horſe in each legion. Of the Latin allies, horſe and foot, he alſo gave the preference to thoſe, who had been at the battle of Cannæ. CHAP. XXIV.

THE number of the troops that embarked is not exactly known. Hiſtorians differ much about it. Some ſay, 10,000 foot, and 2200 horſe; ſome 16000 infantry, and 1600 horſe, while others affirm that they were more than double theſe numbers, 35000 foot and horſe. Some have not mentioned any particular number, and I would, in ſo uncertain a caſe, rank myſelf among them. Cælius, without particularizing any number, tells us that it was almoſt infinite, and the fowls of the air fell down, by the mighty and terrible noiſe of the ſoldiers, and that the number was ſo great, that embarked for Africa, that not one ſingle ſoul ſeemed to be left in either Italy or Sicily. The general himſelf had taken it upon him to make the troops go aboard without any tumult or confuſion, and Lælius the admiral had kept quiet and in good order aboard his mariners, CHAP. XXV.

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whom he had obliged to embark before. M. Pomponius, the prætor, had the charge of embarking the proviſions, of which there was ſufficient for forty five days, and for fifteen of theſe ready dreſſed. When they were all embarked, the general ſent out the long boats to their reſpective ſhips, to ſummon the pilots and maſters attended with two ſoldiers to meet at the forum and receive their orders. As ſoon as they met, he enquired if there was water on board for man and horſe for a like number of days as they had victuals. They anſwered in the affirmative. Then he commanded the ſoldiers not to moleſt or interrupt the ſailors in their duty. The tranſports were diſpoſed in the centre, covered on the right with twenty ſhips of war, commanded by the general in perſon, and L. Scipio his brother; and on the left by as many ſhips of the ſame rate, under C. Lælius the admiral, and M. Portius Cato the queſtor. Each of the great ſhips had a ſingle lanthorn on her bow, and the tranſports two, and the admiral three in the night. He commanded the pilots to keep their courſe for Emporia [a], whoſe inhabitants, not inured to war, and even enervated by the pleaſures and fertility of the ſoil, ſeemed leaſt capable of making reſiſtance, and might be overpowered before they could be reinforced from Carthage. When they had received their orders they embarked again, and under the protection of the Gods, the ſignal was given to weigh anchor.

CHAP. XXVI.

MANY Roman fleets had been ſeen to ſet ſail from Sicily, and even from the port of Lilybæum, but neither during this, nor the courſe of the firſt Punic war had ſo fine a one been ſeen, and no wonder indeed, for moſt of their other fleets were ſent out only to make deſcents for booty. However if a fleet were to be judged of by it's numbers, there had one been ſeen which had tranſported beyond ſea two conſuls with two conſular armies, compoſed of almoſt as many ſhips of war as Scipio had tranſports

[a] Bordering on the little Syrteis, and is now a part of the kingdom of *Tunis*.

at this time, for beſides 50 ſhips of war, he had only about 400 tranſports. But on comparing the two wars, the ſecond ſeemed to the Romans infinitely more grievous and intereſting, becauſe Italy was the ſeat of it, and becauſe of the many bloody defeats, with the loſs of ſo many generals and armies that they had met with in the courſe of it. Beſides the reputation of Scipio, founded on the glorious exploits he had performed, and that good fortune which daily increaſed his glory; the bold deſign of going to Africa, which had not been attempted by any other general during that war; the report which he had ſpread with an air of confidence, that he was going to force Hannibal out of Italy, and to remove the war into Africa, where it would at length be terminated; had excited an eager curioſity in the minds of all people. The ſhore was not only covered with all the inhabitants of Lilybæum, but alſo with a great number of deputies from the ſtates of Sicily, whom either the deſire of making their court to Scipio, or their affairs with the prætor Pomponius, had brought into that city. Beſides, the ſoldiers of the legions, which remained in Sicily, were come thither, to take leave of their comrades. And if the fleet attracted the eyes of that infinite multitude, which filled the ports, and the parts of the ſhore, from whence it could be ſeen; that multitude itſelf did not make a much leſs ſplendid appearance to thoſe that were embarked. CHAP. XXVI.

AS ſoon as it was day Scipio appeared upon the poop of his ſhip, and having commanded an herald to proclame ſilence, addreſſed this prayer to heaven. CHAP. XXVII.

'O all ye Gods and Goddeſſes of the ſea and earth!
'I implore and intreat you to make all I have done,
'am doing, or ſhall do, during my command pro-
'ſperous to me, to the people and commons of Rome,
'to the allies and the Latin name, to all who e-
'ſpouſe the cauſe of the Roman people, and mine,
'and follow my command and auſpices by ſea, land,
'and on rivers: favor all theſe enterprizes, increaſe

'them

CHAP. XXVII.

'them with proſperous increaſe: bring us back ſafe 'and unhurt, victorious over our enemies, adorned 'with ſpoils, loaded with plunder and triumphant. 'Give us the means of avenging ourſelves upon our 'enemies, and enable me and the Roman people to 'execute upon Carthage all that ſhe deſigned againſt 'Rome.' After this prayer, a victim was ſlain, and according to cuſtom he threw the raw entrails into the ſea and gave the ſignal for ſailing by the ſound of trumpets. Having ſet out with a fair wind, the fleet ſoon loſt ſight of land. But ſo thick a fog aroſe towards noon, that the ſhips could ſcarce keep clear of one another. When they were farther out at ſea, it grew calm; and the ſame fog continued during all the next night, but diſperſed at ſunriſe, and a freſh gale ſprung up, ſo that they ſoon perceived the land. A moment after the pilot told Scipio that they were not above five miles from Africa; for he could deſcry the promontory of Mercury [a], and if he would order to direct their courſe that way, the whole fleet would ſoon be in port. Scipio immediately prayed to the Gods, that having made the land of Africa, it might be fortunate for himſelf and the commonwealth: and ordered the pilot to ſtand in to a bay a little lower. The ſame wind continued to blow, but a fog like that of the night before, and almoſt at the ſame time, aroſe, which deprived them of the ſight of land, and made the wind fall. Night came on which made every thing uncertain. So they caſt anchor to keep the ſhips from running foul of each other, or from driving aſhore. As ſoon as day appeared, the wind began to blow again, and the fog being diſperſed the coaſts of Africa appeared. Scipio aſked the name of the next promontory, and on being told that it was called the fair promontory, 'I like the omen, ſaid he, di-'rect your courſe thither.' Immediately all the fleet run in there, and the troops were landed. Many Greek and Roman hiſtorians tell us that this was a

[a] Now *Cape Bon*, on the coaſt of *Tunis*.

very prosperous voyage, without the least danger or confusion. But Cælius, excepting that none of the ships were lost, says that they met with a terrible tempest of wind, thunder and lightning, and being driven from the coast of Africa to the island Ægimurus[a], with much difficulty recovered their intended course. And that after being almost shipwrecked, they went ashore in boats without any order from their general, without their arms and in the greatest confusion, like wrecked sailors. CHAP. XXVII.

THE Roman army having landed, encamped upon the adjacent eminences. The sight of the fleet and then of the soldiers, quitting their ships in throngs, had already spread terror and consternation, not only along the adjacent coasts, but even in the cities. A confused multitude of men, women, and children who fled, driving their cattle before them, crowded all the roads, so that it might be said, Africa would soon be abandoned by all it's inhabitants. But the country people brought much greater terror into the cities, than they were in themselves; particularly at Carthage, the dread and consternation were as great as if the city had been taken by storm. For from the time of the consuls Manlius and Regulus, that is above fifty years, before the Carthaginians had not seen a Roman army in their country, only some ships that were sent out to make descents on their coasts, and taking what fortune cast in their way, retired before the country could be alarmed. The flight and terror increased, when they considered that they had neither an army of sufficient strength, nor a general of ability and experience, to defend them. Asdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was by far the man of highest birth, reputation and wealth in their state, and besides was ally'd to Syphax. But every body remembred that the same Scipio had defeated him several times in Spain, and had at length driven him out of the province: and they did not believe him more capable CHAP. XXVIII.

[a] Now *Galata*, between *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*.

of

CHAP. XXVIII.

of oppoſing Scipio, than their troops raiſed in haſte to oppoſe the veterans of the enemy. For this reaſon, as if Scipio was coming to attack Carthage that inſtant, they cried out to arms, ſhut their gates, poſted men upon the walls, and ſentinels and advanced guards before the gates, and kept watch during all the following night. The next day 500 horſe who had been ſent towards the ſea coaſt to obſerve the motions of the Romans, and haraſs them in landing, met ſome of the enemies advanced guards, for Scipio had already ſent his fleet towards Utica, and having removed his land forces a little from the ſea, had ſeized the neighboring eminences, and poſted ſome part of his cavalry on an advantageous ground, whilſt the reſt were detached to plunder the country.

CHAP. XXIX.

THEY engaged the Carthaginian detachment, killed ſome of them in the action, but many more in the flight, and among the reſt a young nobleman, named Hanno, who commanded the party. Scipio was not contented with ruining the countries round about: he attacked and took a town of ſome force in the neighborhood, wherein, beſides conſiderable plunder, with which he immediately loaded his tranſports and ſent them to Sicily, he took 8000 priſoners, freemen and ſlaves. But what gave the greateſt joy to Scipio was Maſiniſſa's arrival in his camp, who joined him with 200 horſe, and according to ſome, with 2000. Since this Maſiniſſa was the moſt illuſtrious and noted prince of his time, and proved very ſerviceable to the Romans, I think it will be worth the while to make a little digreſſion to relate the various turns of his fortune, in loſing and regaining his paternal kingdom. During the campaign in Spain, in which he fought for the Carthaginians, his father Gala died, and the kingdom in order of ſucceſſion, according to the laws of Numidia, devolved upon Gala's younger brother Oeſalces, who by this time was much ſuperannuated. Soon after Oeſalces died likewiſe, and the eldeſt of his two ſons Capuſa mounted the throne of his father, his younger

younger brother being then a child. But as he obtained the kingdom rather by right of ſucceſſion, than by credit of a party or force, one Mezetulus, a man of the royal blood, but of a family conſtant enemies to it, diſputed the crown with various fortune with all that enjoy'd it during his life. At this time he raiſed an inſurrection of the populace, with whom he had great credit on account of his hatred to the royal family. He openly took the field, forced the king to a battle, and to diſpute his right to the crown ſword in hand. Capuſa with a great many of his grandees fell in the action, whereupon the Maſſylians ſubjected themſelves to the government of Mezetulus. However he did not aſſume the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of tutor to the only ſurviving ſon of Oeſalces. He married a Carthaginian lady, Hannibal's niece, the dowager of king Oeſalces, hoping to gain the friendſhip of the Carthaginians. He likewiſe ſent deputies to Syphax to renew the ancient treaty that ſubſiſted between them. All theſe preparations he made to oppoſe Maſiniſſa. CHAP. XXIX.

THE Numidian prince, hearing of the death of his uncle, and then of his couſin german, went from Spain to Mauritania, of which Bocchar was at that time king. Having addreſſed him in a very humble and complaiſant manner, he obtain'd his point ſo far, that he ſent 4000 Moors to eſcorte him to his frontiers, becauſe he could not take part in the war himſelf. When he arrived there, he diſpatched a courier to inform his own and his father's friends of it, whereupon 500 Numidians joined him. Then according to promiſe he ſent back the eſcorte to king Bocchar, and finding that the numbers that repaired to him came ſo far ſhort of his expectation, that he durſt not undertake any important enterprize, but concluding that by activity and grand exploits he could draw together force ſufficient, he attacked Lacumaces the young king at Thapſus [a] in his journey to Syphax. The king's army retired precipitately into the city, CHAP. XXX.

[a] *El Madia*, in the kingdom of *Tuniss*.

which

CHAP. XXX.

which Maſiniſſa took at the firſt aſſault. He pardoned ſuch as ſurrendered themſelves willingly, but put to the ſword thoſe that made reſiſtance. The greateſt part, by favor of the tumult fled to Syphax, whither they firſt intended, carrying the young king with them. The news of this ſlight advantage in the beginning of the campaign, induced the Numidians to join Maſiniſſa. The veteran ſoldiers of Gala came in crowds to him, and encouraged him to endeavor the regaining of his father's kingdom. Mezetulus's army was ſomewhat more numerous. For the army which defeated Capuſa was ſtill entire, beſides ſome had came over to him upon the death of the late king. Young Lacumaces too had got conſiderable aids from Syphax; ſo that Mezetulus's army amounted to 15000 infantry, and 10,000 horſe. Maſiniſſa, though far inferior to him in number, gave him battle, and gained a complete victory, by the courage and bravery of his ſoldiers, his own good conduct, and the experience he had acquired in the war between the Romans and Carthaginians. The young king and his tutor eſcaped with a ſmall number of the Maſæſylians into the Carthaginian territories. Thus Maſiniſſa, having recovered his father's kingdom, and finding that he would have a more difficult war to ſuſtain againſt Syphax, thought it adviſeable to come to an accommodation with his couſin german. In conſequence he ſent deputies to promiſe, that if he would put himſelf under his protection, he ſhould be treated with as much honor and reſpect as Oeſalces had been by his father Gala, he would pardon Mezetulus, and reſtore him all his effects. Both of them, preferring a moderate fortune at home to exile, accepted his terms, though the Carthaginians exerted themſelves to prevent their compliance.

CHAP. XXXI.

DURING theſe tranſactions Aſdrubal happened to be at Syphax's court. The Numidian imagined it could not affect him, whether Lacumaces was king of the Maſſylians, or Maſiniſſa. But Aſdrubal told

told him, 'he was much miſtaken, if he believed 'Maſiniſſa would be contented with the dominions 'of his father Gala, or his uncle Oeſalces. That he 'diſcovered a more ambitious and enterprizing na- 'ture, than had ever appeared in any of his family. 'In Spain he had ſignalized himſelf by acts of prodi- 'gious bravery to the conviction of the enemy and 'his own allies; and if Syphax and the Carthaginians 'did not extinguiſh in the beginning that ſpark, they 'would very ſoon periſh in it's flames, when it was 'out of their power to prevent it. As yet his ſtrength 'was but ſmall and his force inconſiderable, and he was 'not firmly ſettled in his kingdom.' Thus by importunities and reaſonings he inſtigated Syphax to march his army into the confines of Maſſylia, and to encamp in a country which Gala and he had often diſputed with the ſword, as well as words, as if it had been his own property: and, if any body ſhould attempt to diſlodge him, to give him battle, the moſt advantageous ſtep he could take. But if fear made the enemy quietly yield the poſſeſſion of it, he might then penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. For the Maſſylians would either willingly ſubmit without hazarding a battle, or never be able to oppoſe his arms. Syphax, at the inſtigation of Aſdrubal, marched againſt Maſiniſſa, and in the firſt engagement routed the Maſſylians and put them to flight. Maſiniſſa, with a ſmall guard of horſe, eſcaped to the mountain Balbus [a], whither ſome families followed him with their waggons [b], and flocks, wherein all their riches conſiſted. The reſt of the Maſſylians ſubmitted to Syphax. The mountain, that the fugitives had retired to, had plenty of paſture and water, to feed the flocks, and of conſequence afforded good ſubſiſtence to men who lived on milk and fleſh. At firſt they began to make nocturnal excurſions like robbers, but at length in open day plundered all the adjacent country, eſpecially that of the Carthaginians, becauſe it afforded more booty than that of the Numidians, and was

CHAP. XXXI.

[a] *Audus.* [b] They had no other lodgings.

not

CHAP. XXXI.

not ſo well guarded. At laſt they grew ſo licentious and audacious, that they ſold the booty to the merchants, who touched upon that coaſt. Beſides greater numbers of the Carthaginians were killed and taken in theſe excurſions, than in a regular war. So they complained to Syphax, and inſtigated him to purſue to utter deſtruction theſe relicks of the enemy. The king diſdained to go in perſon to reduce a band of robbers wandering in the mountains.

CHAP. XXXII.

BOCCHAR, one of the king's lieutenants, an active and enterprizing man, was pitched upon to go on that expedition with 4000 foot and 2000 horſe. He was promiſed great rewards in caſe he ſhould bring them Maſiniſſa's head, or take him alive, for that would be matter of moſt inexpreſſible joy. He firſt attacked them as they were ſtraggling and dreading no danger, and having cut off a great number of men and cattle from their guards, forced Maſiniſſa with a ſmall number to retire to the top of the mountain. Then as if the war had been terminated, he ſent not only a great quantity of the booty and robbers to the king, but alſo a great number of his own troops, retaining only about 500 foot and 200 horſe. For he thought his firſt body more numerous than was neceſſary to exterminate the relicks of the war. Then as Maſiniſſa was quitting the eminence by ſtealth, he purſued him into a defile, and blocking up both the entries to it, made dreadful ſlaughter of the Maſſylians. With much difficulty the prince with 50 horſe eſcaped through ſome bye-roads which the enemy were unacquainted with. However Bocchar followed his track: and coming up with him, invironed him in the plains near Clupea, and cut in pieces all his guard except four. With theſe the prince, though grievouſly wounded, made his eſcape in the tumult. However the five were ſtill in view, and a party of horſe was ſent over all the plain to meet them which ever way they ſhould take a compaſs. The fugitives came to a great river into which they leap'd horſe and man in all haſte, being more afraid

of the enemy who purſued them cloſely than of the water: the rapidity of the ſtream carried them along with it. The enemy ſaw two of them periſh in a whirlpool, and Maſiniſſa was thought to have been drowned at the ſame time. But he and the other two got out to the oppoſite bank which was covered with reeds. The river ſtopt Bocchar in his purſuit, neither had he the courage to croſs it, believing that Maſiniſſa was drowned. Then he returned to the king with the falſe accounts of Maſiniſſa's death. A courier was immediately diſpatched to Carthage with the joyful news. All Africa rung with it, and it affected people very differently. Maſiniſſa hid himſelf in a cave, dreſſed his wounds with herbs, and lived ſome days upon the prey which the two troopers brought him. As ſoon as it was healed and he was able to bear exerciſe, he with undaunted reſolution marched to regain his father's kingdom. Upon his rout he picked up about 40 horſe, and when he arrived amongſt the Maſſylians publickly declared who he was. Thus, from their former regard to him, and their joy at ſeeing him alive, after believing he had been dead, they roſe in his favor, and within a few days an army of 6000 foot and 4000 horſe, joined him; ſo that he was not only in poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom, but likewiſe made inroads upon that of the Maſæſylians then the allies of the Carthaginians, and Syphax's ſubjects. Syphax, provoked at theſe hoſtilities, took the field and encamped between Cirtha[a] and Hippo, on the tops of the mountains which was a very advantageous poſt.

CHAP. XXXII.

JUDGING this war of ſuch importance, that he could not truſt his officers with the proſecution of it, he detached a part of his army with his ſon Verminas at the head of them, with poſitive orders, while he was engaged with the enemy in the front, to fetch a compaſs, and attack them in the rear. Verminas marched out in the night, becauſe he was to fall on the enemy unexpectedly. But Syphax de-

CHAP. XXXIII.

[a] *Conſtantina*, in the kingdom of *Algiers*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

camped in the day time, being to encounter the enemy in form. When he thought the party he had detached had got to the poſt aſſigned them, he marched down from the eminence to the enemy, and truſting to his numbers and the ambuſcade in the rear, formed his army on a riſing ground oppoſite to them. Maſiniſſa, on the other hand, relying on his being more advantageouſly poſted, drew up his men in order of battle. The conflict was bloody and victory long diſputed, as Maſiniſſa had the advantage of the ground and in the bravery of his troops, and Syphax in numbers. As this multitude had divided and attacked the enemy in front and rear, it at laſt determined the victory in favor of Syphax, nay the enemy had no way to eſcape, being inviroued both before and behind. In conſequence they were all, horſe and foot, killed upon the ſpot, except 200 cavalry which guarded Maſiniſſa, whom he ordered to divide into three troops, and force a paſſage in three different places, after he had appointed where they were to rendezvous after the flight. He himſelf eſcaped through ſhowers of the enemies darts, and came to the place appointed; the other two troops were intercepted. One of them like cowards ſurrendered, the other fought to the laſt and were all cut to pieces. Maſiniſſa weary'd out Verminas by windings and turnings, to that degree that he was obliged to quit the purſuit. He came to the leſſer Syrtis [a], with about 60 horſe, where, contented with having ſo frequently endeavored to regain his father's kingdom, he lived betwixt Emporia belonging to the Carthaginians, and the country of the Garamantes [b], till C. Lælius arrived in Africa with the Roman fleet. This induces me to believe, that Maſiniſſa afterwards joined Scipio with a ſmall, not a great body of horſe: for the firſt number ſuits his exiled condition, the ſecond that of a prince eſtabliſhed on his throne.

[a] See vol. III. p. 356. [b] Their country reached from the ſprin of *Bagrada* near *Emporia*, to the lake *Nuiba*.

TH

CHAP. XXXV.

THE Carthaginians, having made levies, ſet a new body of cavalry on foot, in room of that which had been defeated with it's general, and gave the command of it to Hanno, ſon of Hamilcar. They ſent letters, couriers, and at laſt deputies to preſs Aſdrubal and Syphax to take the field. They ordered the former to come and defend his country almoſt beſieged by the enemy, and conjured the latter to haſten to the aid of Carthage and all Africa. Scipio was then about a mile from Utica, for he had removed from the ſea, where he had encamped for ſome days cloſe to his fleet. As Hanno, with the horſe that had been given him, far from being able to attack the enemy, was not in a condition to prevent them from plundering the country, his firſt care was to make levies for augmenting his corps. He refuſed men of no nation, but liſted as many Numidians as he could, who were the beſt horſe ſoldiers in Africa. He had drawn together about 4000 horſe, with which he took up his quarters in Salera, about fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When Scipio was informed, that the enemy's cavalry waſted the ſummer idly in a town, he ſaid, 'I ſhould defeat them were they much more 'numerous under ſuch a commander.' He did not think he ought to be dilatory becauſe the enemy were ſo. He therefore ordered Maſiniſſa, with a detachment of horſe, to ride up to the gates, and provoke them to battle: when all their force ſhould quit the town, and the action become ſo warm, that he could not ſuſtain it, to retire by degrees, and he in perſon would be ready to ſupport him. Scipio followed with the Roman cavalry as ſoon as he thought Maſiniſſa had had time ſufficient to draw the enemy out of the town, and marched unobſerved under cover of ſome hills that concealed his rout. Maſiniſſa, according to his inſtructions, ſometimes rode up and down before the gates courageouſly to terrify the enemy, at other times retired as if he had been afraid; by which counterfeit fear he inſpired

CHAP. XXXIV.

the enemy with courage, and drew them on to purſue him raſhly. They had not all as yet come forth: Their general was embarraſſed in forcing ſome overcome with wine and ſleep to take arms and mount their horſes, and in hindering others from ſallying out at all the gates without being formed, and diſperſed from their proper ſtandards. Maſiniſſa gave them a warm reception in their firſt raſh attack; but as reinforcements poured out to their ſupport, they ſoon came to fight on equal terms. At laſt when all the enemy's cavalry were come out againſt him, the Numidian prince was able to ſuſtain it no longer. However he did not fly precipitately, but fighting, and by degrees, till he drew on the enemy as far as the hills behind which the Roman cavalry were concealed. Scipio, whoſe men and horſes were both freſh, then appeared, and ſurrounded Hanno and his Africans, who were much fatigued with charging and purſuing Maſiniſſa. Maſiniſſa on his ſide faced about and renewed the battle. Hanno with about 1000 of the foremoſt horſe being ſeparated from the reſt by the Romans, and their retreat cut off, were killed upon the ſpot. All the reſt, terrified with the death of their general, fled full ſpeed, but the victors purſued them almoſt three miles, and took and killed about 2000 more. Amongſt them, it is certain, were 200 Carthaginian troopers, and ſeveral men illuſtrious by their birth and fortunes.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE ſame day this battle was fought, the ſhips which carried the firſt plunder to Sicily, returned with a ſupply of proviſions, as if they had divined that they were to have another fraught of the ſame kind. Hiſtorians do not agree that there were two Carthaginian generals of the ſame name killed in two different horſe ſkirmiſhes. They were afraid, I believe, of impoſing on the reader by repeating the ſame ſtory twice. Cælius and Valerius ſay that Hanno was taken priſoner. Scipio made conſiderable preſents to the officers in proportion to their valor; but he treated Maſiniſſa with more diſtinction than any of them.

He

He put a ſtrong gariſon in Salera, and marching out with the reſt of his troops, not only ravaged all the countries through which he paſſed, but in his way took a great number of cities and villages, and having ſpread the terror of his arms on all ſides, returned to his camp ſeven days after he had left it, bringing with him a vaſt multitude of men and cattle, with an infinite quantity of plunder of all kinds, which he cauſed to be put on board his ſhips, and ſent them back to Sicily laden with rich ſpoils. The victor, laying aſide all ſlight excurſions for booty, turned all his forces againſt the city of Utica, with deſign, after having taken it, to make it a place of arms and reſidence during the execution of his other deſigns. He attacked it at once by ſea and land. His ſailors advanced on the ſide next the ſea, and his land army up to an eminence that almoſt covered the walls. He had brought with him abundance of all kinds of machines neceſſary for a ſiege, and had others ſent him from Sicily. Beſides he had employ'd a number of workmen in the arſenals for making new ones. Thus the inhabitants of Utica, being blockaded on all ſides, placed their laſt reſource in the Carthaginians, and the Carthaginians had their dependance upon Aſdrubal's having ſufficient intereſt to make Syphax declare for them. But all their aids moved much ſlower than their deſperate circumſtances required. Aſdrubal, by the levies which he had made with all poſſible diligence, ſet on foot an army of 30000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry; yet with ſuch conſiderable forces he did not dare to approach the enemy, till Syphax came to join him. That prince arrived at laſt with 50000 foot, and 10000 horſe. Aſdrubal then immediately began his march, and encamped with him not far from Utica and the Roman intrenchments. All the benefit they reaped from ſuch a conſiderable armament, was to oblige Scipio to raiſe the ſiege of Utica, after having continued before it forty days, and uſed all imaginable efforts to carry it. In conſequence as the winter approached, he encamped upon a pro-

CHAP. XXXV.

montory, that extended a conſiderable way into the ſea, and was joined to the continent by a kind of narrow iſthmus, incloſing both the ſea and land armies within the ſame works. The legions encamped upon the middle of the eminence, and the ſhips were laid up on the north ſhore. The ſea forces lay on that quarter; the cavalry were poſted towards the ſouth on a plain inclining a little to the other ſhore.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THESE things paſſed in Africa about the end of autumn. Beſides the corn, which Scipio had taken in the countries he had plundered, and that he had brought from Italy and Sicily, the pro-prætor Cn. Octavius brought in a very great quantity, which had been ſent him from Sardinia by T. Claudius prætor of that province: ſo that he not only filled the magazines he had already, but built new ones. As his ſoldiers wanted clothes, he ſent the ſame Octavius to Sardinia, to get them from the prætor of that province. He punctually acquitted himſelf of that commiſſion, and in a very ſhort time brought back 1200 robes and 12000 tunicks. The ſame campaign, that theſe things paſſed in Africa, the conſul P. Sempronius, who had Bruttium for his province, was attacked near Croton upon his march by Hannibal. The two enemies fought rather in parties than line of battle. The conſul was repulſed, left 1200 of his troops upon the ſpot, and regained his camp in no little diſorder. Hannibal however did not venture to attack him in it. The conſul in conſequence quitted it the night following, after having ſent the pro-conſul Publius Licinius orders to join him with his legions. When the two generals were joined they marched with both armies in queſt of Hannibal to give him battle, which he did not heſitate to accept. He was encouraged by the victory, which he had lately gained, and Sempronius by the augmentation of his forces. The conſul poſted his own legions in the front, and thoſe of Licinius in the rear. He had vowed in the beginning of the battle, that if he ſhould prove victorious that day, to dedicate a tem-

pl

ple to the Goddeſs Fortuna Primigenia. His prayers were heard; he defeated the Carthaginians, put them to flight, killed about 4000 men, and took near 300 with 40 horſes and 11 enſigns. Hannibal, diſcouraged by the defeat, retired towards Croton. During this time, the conſul M. Cornelius, in the other part of Italy, employ'd vigorous proſecutions rather than the force of arms, to over-awe the Etrurians, who, on Mago's approach, had almoſt all of them ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the deſire of changing their maſters. The conſul managed this buſineſs impartially, by a delegated power from the ſenate. As many of the nobility of Etruria, as either had actually revolted, and gone over to Mago, or had ſent him notice that their people would revolt, were firſt condemned as they were preſent. Then ſuch as from a conſciouſneſs of their crime had retired into a voluntary baniſhment, were condemned in their abſence. As they had left behind them only their eſtates, theſe were confiſcated in lieu of the corporal puniſhment they deſerved. CHAP. XXXVI.

WHILE the conſuls were thus employ'd in different countries, the cenſors, M. Livius and C. Claudius, drew up a new liſt of the ſenators. Q. Fabius Maximus was declared prince of it for the ſecond time. Seven members were ſtigmatized, but none of theſe had ever born any curule magiſtracy. They took particular notice to have the temples faithfully kept in repair by the undertakers. They ordered a ſtreet to be paved from the ox market to the temple of Venus, and about the public forums ordered a temple to be erected to Mater Magna [a], on mount Palatine. They alſo laid a new duty upon ſalts both at Rome and all over Italy of a ſextant per buſhel. They farmed it out at Rome at that price, though at an higher rate in the leſſer cities and boroughs through Italy, and at different rates in different places. The people eaſily underſtood, that that duty had been projected by one of the cenſors, out CHAP. XXXVII.

[a] Cybele.

CHAP. XXXVII.

of a pique he had at them, becauſe of an unjuſt ſentence that had been paſſed upon him, and that that tribe had ſuffered moſt, which had been moſt active in his condemnation. Hence he was nick-named Salinator, or the ſalter. The luſtrum was completed later than uſual, becauſe the cenſors ſent perſons into the provinces to know the exact number of the ſoldiers of which each army conſiſted. That of all the citizens amounted to 214000 men. It was C. Claudius that cloſed the luſtrum. Then they reviewed the twelve colonies, which had never been done before, and the cenſors appointed regiſters to be kept, that the number of the men and the value of their eſtates might be inſerted in the publick records. They then began to review the knights, and both the cenſors happened to have a horſe furniſhed at the public charge. When they came to the tribe of Pollia, of which M. Livius was, as the crier heſitated to cite the cenſor himſelf, cite M. Livius, ſaid Nero; and whether he retained ſome remains of former enmity to him, or improperly affected to ſhew a rigid ſeverity, he ordered his horſe to be ſold, under pretence that he had been condemned by the people. M. Livius in his turn, in the reviewing the tribe Narnienſis, obliged Nero, who was of it, to ſell his horſe for two reaſons: firſt, becauſe he had born falſe witneſs againſt him, and ſecondly, becauſe he not been ſincere in his reconciliation with him. This was a moſt ſcandalous quarrel between two cenſors, mutually bent to deſtroy each other's reputation at the expence of his own. On the expiration of their office C. Claudius ſwore, according to cuſtom, that they had done nothing that was not conformable to the laws; and going to the public treaſury, he placed his collegue in the number of thoſe to whom he gave the degrading name of ærarii [a]. M. Livius carried his revenge ſtill farther, for when he came to the public treaſury, after his collegue, except the tribe Mæcia, which had neither condemned him nor voted for his being conſul and cenſor after his ſentence, he disfranchiſed

[a] See Vol. IV.

chiſed all the thirty five tribes as a puniſhment, because, ſaid he, 'they condemned me unjuſtly, and 'then elected me conſul and cenſor; for they cannot deny, but that they have committed a crime, either once in the ſentence they had paſſed againſt me, or twice in the aſſemblies, wherein they had raiſed me to great offices, after they had condemned me.' He ſaid that Claudius was included in the thirty four tribes, who were all ærarii; but if there had been a precedent of a citizen's being twice condemned in the ſame penalty, he ſhould not have failed to have marked Claudius by name. The quarrel between the two cenſors, in ſtigmatizing one another, was mean and unbecoming: But the people well deſerved the reproof for their inconſtancy; and the reproaches Livius made them were ſuitable to the ſevere diſcipline of thoſe times. When the cenſors had drawn the odium of the people upon themſelves, C. Bæbius, one of the tribunes, thinking this a favorable opportunity for advancing himſelf, brought an action againſt them before the people; but the ſenators ſuſpended this affair, in order that the cenſorſhip might not, in the conſequence, be expoſed to the caprice of the multitude. CHAP. XXXVII.

DURING the ſame campaign the conſul took Clampetia [a], a city in the country of the Bruttii, by ſtorm. Conſentia and Pandoſia, and other ſtates of ſmall account, ſurrendered at diſcretion. As the time for the elections approached, M. Cornelius was ſent for to Rome, who had no war upon his hands in Etruria, rather than Sempronius, who had Hannibal to oppoſe. He created C. Servilius Cæpio, and Cn. Servilius Geminus conſuls; then the aſſembly for chuſing of the prætors met, and in it were elected P. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Quintilius Varus, P. Ælius Pætus, and P. Villius Tappulus. Theſe two were ædiles of the commons when they were choſen prætors. When the elections were ended, the conſul returned to his army in Etruria. Some of the prieſts died this CHAP. XXXVIII.

[a] *L'Amantea, in Hither Calabria.*

year,

CHAP. XXXVIII.

year, and the following perſons were ſubſtituted in their place: Tib. Veturius Philo was choſen high prieſt of Mars, in room of M. Æmilius, Regillus, who died the year before: In place of M. Pomponius Matho, who bore the two offices of augur and decemvir, there was raiſed to the office of decemvir, M. Aurelius Cotta, and to that of augur, Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was but a youth, which rarely happened in thoſe days in the conferring of ſacerdotal offices. C. Livius and M. Servilius Geminus, being then curule ædiles, placed in the capitol a chariot with four horſes all of ſolid gold. The Roman games were exhibited for two days ſucceſſively, and the Plebeian, during the ſame ſpace, were celebrated by the ædiles of the commons, P. Ælius and P. Villius, and in honor of them the feaſt of Jupiter was obſerved with the greateſt ſolemnity.

BOOK XXX.

In Africa Scipio defeats the Carthaginians, Syphax a king of Numidia and Aſdrubal in ſeveral battles; and attacks two of the enemy's camps, in which 40000 men are conſumed by fire and ſword. He takes Syphax by means of C. Lælius and Maſiniſſa. Maſiniſſa immediately falls in love with Sophoniſba queen to Syphax and daughter to Aſdrubal; marries her, but being ſeverely reprimanded by Scipio ſends her a cup of poiſon which ſhe drinks and dies. Scipio by repeated victories drives the Carthaginians to the laſt extremities, and obliges them to recal Hannibal out of Italy to ſave their ſtate. He leaves it in the 16th year after he had invaded it; and paſſing into Africa, endeavors, in a conference with Scipio, to procure peace; He does not obtain it and is defeated in a pitched battle. Peace granted to the Carthaginians at their humble requeſt. Hannibal drags away Giſgo remonſtrating againſt an accommodation, and afterwards excuſing the raſhneſs of the action, adviſes making peace. Mago wounded in an action between him and the Romans in Inſubria, and being recalled by a deputation from Africa, dies of his wounds. Maſiniſſa's kingdom reſtored to him. Scipio, on his return to Rome, receives a moſt magnificent and ſplendid triumph, in which Q. Terentius Culleo, a ſenator, follows with a cap on his head, as a badge of his having been redeemed from ſlavery. He is ſurnamed Africanus: It is not certain, whether the ſoldiers out of eſteem, or the

the people in their applauses, first gave him this title; but it is certain he was the first general who was distinguished with the name of the nation he had conquered.

THE new consuls entered upon office the sixteenth year of the Punic war. When the operations of the campaign, and the provinces was brought upon the carpet, the senators decreed, that either the consuls should agree between themselves, or draw lots, which of them should take Bruttium, and oppose Hannibal, and which Hetruria, and the Ligurians. He, to whose lot Bruttium should fall, was to receive the command of the army from P. Sempronius the late consul. The latter was to succede P. Licinius, who was to continue in commission for a year in quality of proconsul. He was to return home to Rome. This Licinius was accounted a man expert in war. Besides other qualifications he possessed, and in which none of the Roman citizens excelled him, nature and fortune heaped their favors on him; birth, riches, a fine personage and great strength. He was a great orator, and equally capable of pleading at the bar, speaking in the senate, and haranguing in the forum: he was well skilled in the laws of religion: and his consulship had afforded him occasions of displaying his talents for war to such advantage as to merit great applause. The same orders that were given in respect to Bruttium, likewise obtained in regard of Hetruria, and the Ligurians. M. Cornelius was appointed to deliver up the army to the new consul, and had his commission renewed for the province of Gaul, with the command of the legions which the prætor Scribonius had the former year. Then the consuls drew lots for the provinces. Bruttium fell to Cæpio, and Hetruria to Geminus. Then the prætors drew for their provinces. The charge of the city fell to Ælius; Sardinia to Lentulus; Sicily to Villius; and Ariminum with the two legions which served under Lucretius to Varus. Lucretius was continued in commission to rebuild the city of Genoa, which Mago the Carthaginian had razed.

CHAP. I.

Cn. Servilius Cæpio. C. Servilius Geminus, Consuls. Y. of R. 549. B. J. C. 203.

razed. It was decreed that Scipio ſhould retain his command, till the end of the war in Africa, without limiting any time, and publick ſupplications were appointed, to implore the God's to render his paſſing into Africa advantageous to the commonwealth, and glorious to the general and his army.

CHAP. II.

THREE thouſand men were levied for Sicily, and as the flower of the army in that province had been tranſported into Africa, they ordered a fleet of forty ſhips to guard it's coaſts, to impede the paſſage of any ſhips from Africa. Villius carried over with him into Sicily 13 new ſhips, and the other old ones were careened there. M. Pomponius, the former prætor, was appointed admiral of this fleet, and manned it with the recruits ſent him from Italy. The ſenators alſo decreed, that Cn. Octavius, who had been prætor the former year, ſhould have the command of an equal number of ſhips to defend the coaſt of Sardinia. Lentulus the preſent prætor was ordered to give him 2000 men to man them. As it was uncertain, whither the Carthaginian fleet would ſail, and probable it would make a deſcent wherever the coaſt was unguarded, Marcius, late prætor, had an equal number of ſhips given him for the defence of Italy. The conſuls, by order of the ſenate, raiſed 3000 men to man them, and kept the city legions ready againſt all emergencies. The two provinces of Spain, with the two armies there, were given to the two old generals Lentulus and L. Manlius Acidinus. Twenty legions, with 160 ſhips of war was all the force the Romans employed this year. The prætors were ordered to ſet out to their reſpective provinces. The conſuls had likewiſe orders, before they quitted the city, to celebrate the great games, which T. Manlius Torquatus the dictator had vowed, againſt the end of the 5th year, provided the commonwealth ſhould continue in the ſame ſtate. Accounts of prodigies from ſeveral places had raiſed new ſcruples in the minds of the people. It was believed for certain, that ravens had not only pecked with their bills,

but

but had actually eaten the gold in the capital. Rats gnawed a crown of gold at Antium. About Capua, ſwarms of locuſts had filled all the country, but none knew whence that plague had ſprang. An horſe colt was foaled at Reatæ with five feet. At Anagnia there appeared in the air divers ſtreams of fire, and afterwards a mighty blazing comet. At Fruſino the ſun appeared ſurrounded with a thin arch which ſoon turned to a greater circle coming out of it's diſc. In a plain field of the territory of Arpi the earth ſunk down. As one of the conſuls was ſacrificing. The liver of the victim was found without an head, the college of pontiffs named the Gods that were to be appeaſed by ſacrifices. CHAP. II.

WHEN the conſuls had diſcharged all the duties of religion, they repaired as well as the prætors to their reſpective provinces. But they were all as intent upon the ſucceſs in Africa, as if the lots had given it to themſelves; whether they thought, that the ſafety and glory of the commonwealth depended upon it: or that they were glad of an occaſion to pleaſe Scipio, upon whom the eyes of the whole city were turned. For this reaſon the prætors ſent clothes, corn, arms, not only from Sardinia, as we have already obſerved, but likewiſe proviſions of all kinds from Sicily and Spain. Scipio, during the winter, never intermitted his proſecution of the war, and in truth he had employment enough; for beſides the ſiege of Utica, which he continued, he was obliged to keep upon his guard againſt Aſdrubal, who was encamped in view; and the Carthaginians had put a well equipped fleet to ſea, with deſign to intercept his ſtores. In the midſt of all theſe cares he had not renounced hopes of bringing over Syphax, if once he was cloy'd with conjugal careſſes. Syphax was rather for mediating an accommodation between the Romans and Carthaginians, on condition that the former ſhould quit Africa, and the latter Italy, than gave them any hopes of his abandoning the Carthaginians, if the war ſhould be continued. I CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

ſhould rather believe, that this affair was treated
by deputies, as moſt authors are of this mind, tha
that Syphax came in perſon to the Roman cam
to an interview, as Antius Valerius relates. At fir
the Roman general would hardly liſten to his pro
poſals, but then conſidering that this would give hi
a colorable pretext, to ſend ſpies to obſerve the di
poſition of the enemy, he ſeemed to relent, and flat
tered Syphax, that by means of frequent meſſage
they might at laſt conclude a peace. The winte
barracks of the Carthaginians were only made o
wood, which they had picked up in the fields, an
very coarſely put together, and thoſe of the Numi
dians, made of ruſhes and leaves, were partly withi
and partly without the intrenchments, without an
regularity or order. This intelligence gave Scipi
hopes he ſhould find an opportunity to ſet fire t
the Carthaginian camp.

CHAP. IV.

SCIPIO ſent with his deputies ſome officer
of approved valor and ſkill in the art of war, in th
habit of ſlaves: thoſe, while the deputies were confer
ring with Syphax, went up and down to obſerve th
avenues and outlets, the form and ſituation of th
whole camp in general, and the particular poſts o
the Carthaginians and Numidians; what diſtance wa
between the king's and Aſdrubal's tent: they alſo in
formed themſelves how they kept guard, that the
might know whether it ſhould be moſt proper
ſurprize them in the day or night. As the conf
rences were very frequent, ſometimes one ſometim
others were ſent on this ſecret commiſſion, in ord
to make many acquainted with the ſtate and diſp
ſition of the enemy. After repeated interviews wi
Syphax, which gave him and the Carthaginians m
hope every day that a peace would be conclud
the Roman ambaſſadors declared to the king, t
Scipio had forbid them to return without a poſit
anſwer; whether he was determined to ſtand to
own reſolution, or to conſult Aſdrubal and the C
thaginians, and be directed by them: that it

t

time either to settle a peace or prosecute the war with vigor. While Syphax was advising with Asdrubal, and Asdrubal with the Carthaginians, the spies had time to observe the whole camp, and Scipio to prepare all things necessary for his design. The thoughts of a peace made the Carthaginians and Numidians be less upon their guard, as fearing nothing from the enemy. Then the deputies had their final answer: in which the enemy, from an opinion that the Romans ardently desired a peace, had added some new conditions harder than the first. These new pretensions furnished Scipio with a pretext for breaking off the accommodation. He accordingly told the courier, who brought them from the king, that he should consider of them in a council of war, and the next day returned for answer. 'That he 'himself had strenuously declared for making peace, 'but none else of the counsel approved the condi'tions. Therefore the sole means he had of living 'in peace with the Romans, was to renounce the al'liance of the Carthaginians and come over to them.' This put an end to the truce, and left him at liberty to execute his project, without giving room to accuse him of breach of faith. Early in the spring, Scipio having made his fleet put to sea, had shipped his machines on board of it, in order to attack Utica. He at the same time had sent 2000 men to seize one of the eminencies that commanded it by land, and of which he had been master before. He took the first of these steps to divert the attention of the enemy from his real design, and the second to prevent the inhabitants of Utica, whilst he was acting against Syphax and Asdrubal, from making any sally upon his camp, where he had left but few troops.

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

AFTER having taken such wise measures, he called a council of war, and having ordered the spies to give an account of what they had remarked in the enemies camp, and desired Masinissa, who was particularly acquainted with it, to give his opinion, he at length openly declared the enterprize he

CHAP. V.

intended to execute the enſuing night. He ordered the tribunes to march out the troops, as ſoon as the ſignal ſhould be given for diſmiſſing his levy. According to his order they began to move about ſun ſet, and at the firſt watch drew up in order of battle, and by an eaſy march, arrived about midnight at the enemy's camp, which was about ſeven miles from their own. Scipio there giving part of his troops to Lælius, ordered him to go with Maſiniſſa, and his Numidians to attack the camp of Syphax and ſet it on fire. Then he took Lælius and Maſiniſſa aſide, ſeparately, and conjured them 'to prevent, with 'all poſſible vigilance and attention, the confuſion 'which the night might occaſion. That he ſhould 'attack Aſdrubal and the Carthaginians in perſon, 'but would not begin till he ſaw the camp of Sy-'phax on fire.' He did not wait long, for as ſoon the flames had taken hold of the firſt huts, they communicated themſelves to the next, and in a very ſhort time the whole camp was in a blaze. It is eaſy to conceive the conſternation, that a fire in the night, which ſpread ſo faſt, and ſo univerſally, occaſioned amongſt the enemy. But as they imputed it to chance, without thinking at all of the Romans, they run without arms, and almoſt naked to extinguiſh it, and fell into the hands of well armed enemies, eſpecially the Numidians, whom Maſiniſſa in effect of his knowledge of the king's camp, had poſted at all the avenues through which they could eſcape. The fire ſuffocated many half aſleep in their beds, and many in the preſs were cruſhed to death at the gates, that were too narrow to let all through, who flew thither to get off.

CHAP. VI.

THE light of ſo great a fire firſt alarmed the ſentinels of the Carthaginians, others afterwards, whom the noiſe and tumult had awakened, having alſo perceived it, fell into the ſame error as the king's troops, imagining it to have been accidental. Being uncertain whether the cries proceded from ſlaughter and wounds, the terror occaſioned by ſuch a fire in the

the night, prevented them from gueſſing the real cauſe. Conſequently, without carrying any thing with them, but what might ſerve to extinguiſh the flames, becauſe they did not apprehend they had any thing to fear from the enemy, they ruſhed each out at the gate that was next them, and fell into their hands without arms and defenceleſs. All theſe were put to the ſword not only in effect of the hatred natural to enemies, but to prevent any one from eſcaping to carry the news of what paſſed to the reſt. Scipio afterwards went to attack the gates of Aſdrubal's camp, that were quite neglected, which is very common in caſes of that kind. He immediately cauſed the tents neareſt them to be ſet on fire. The flames firſt appeared in many different places, but uniting ſoon after, ſet the whole camp in a blaze, and in a moment conſumed every thing combuſtible. Men and beaſts half buried made to the gates to ſave themſelves, but they were ſoon blocked up by the multitude, who falling over one another, lay in heaps in the way. Thoſe who eſcaped the flames, periſhed by the ſword. The two camps of Syphax and Aſdrubal were deſtroyed entirely. However, the two captains eſcaped, with about 2000 foot and 500 horſe, moſt of them without arms, wounded, or hurt by the flames. The ſword or the fire deſtroyed about 40000 men, 6000 were taken priſoners, amongſt whom were a great number of Carthaginians of diſtinction and eleven ſenators, 178 enſigns were alſo taken, with about 2700 Numidian horſes, ſix elephants, eight periſhed by the fire, and a prodigious quantity of arms, which the general burnt as a ſacrifice to Vulcan. CHAP. VI.

ASDRUBAL, attended by a few of his Africans, eſcaped to the neareſt city. All who ſurvived alſo took refuge there, by following the track of his retinue. But he ſoon after quitted it, apprehending that the inhabitants would deliver him up to Scipio. The Romans no ſooner appeared before their gates, than they were opened to them. As they ſurren- CHAP. VII.

CHAP. VII.

dered voluntarily they ſuffered no injury. Scipio took two other cities afterwards, of which he gave the plunder to the ſoldiers, with all that could be ſaved from the fire in the two camps. Syphax encamped eight miles from thence, in a well fortified poſt. Aſdrubal repaired to Carthage, to encourage the citizens, and prevent them from taking ſome weak and timorous reſolution. The firſt news of the ruin of the two armies ſtruck ſuch a terror into the minds of the Carthaginians, that they did not doubt but Scipio would abandon the ſiege of Utica to attack Carthage. It was for this reaſon the ſuffetes, who were at Carthage what the conſuls were at Rome, aſſembled the ſenate, who were divided in opinion. Some were for ſending ambaſſadors to Scipio, to negotiate a peace; others for recalling Hannibal to defend his country, againſt an enemy that threatned its immediate ruin; and laſtly, ſome imitating the conſtancy of the Romans in adverſity, maintained that it was neceſſary to ſet new troops on foot, and to implore Syphax not to abandon his allies, or give over the war. This opinion, ſupported by Aſdrubal's preſence, and the credit of the Barcinian faction, which was averſe to peace, prevailed. They accordingly began to levy troops in the city and country; and ambaſſadors were ſent to Syphax, who, on his ſide, was making preparations to renew the war with all his forces. For his queen was not contented with employing, as before, careſſes, or themſelves ſufficiently powerful over an uxorious huſband, but ſhe added the moſt tender and urgent prayers and tears, conjuring him, not to abandon her father and her country; not to ſuffer Carthage to be deſtroyed by the ſame flames that had conſumed both the camps. The ambaſſadors to encourage him, told him they had met on their way near Abbi[a], 400 Celtiberians, all young and brave, whom the Carthaginian officers had liſted in Spain; and that Aſdrubal would ſoon take the field with a conſiderable army. Syphax, after having given the ambaſſadors

[a] Now *Teſſa*, a vel

a very obliging and favorable anſwer, ſhewed them a great multitude of Numidians peaſants, to whom he had given horſes and arms, and aſſured them, that his deſign was to arm all the youth of the country. He well knew, it was by fire and not in battle they had ſuſtained the laſt loſs, and that it was neceſſary to be overcome in the field, to confeſs themſelves inferior to an enemy in war. The ambaſſadors received this for anſwer. Some few days after Aſdrubal and Syphax joined their forces, which amounted to 30000 effective men. CHAP. VII.

SCIPIO, conſidering Syphax and the Carthaginians as quite reduced, thought almoſt only of puſhing the ſiege of Utica, and had made his machines approach the walls of that city, when he received advice, that the enemy had taken the field with a new army. However, to preſerve at leaſt the appearance of a ſiege, he left a few troops in his lines and on board his ſhips, and ſet out with the flower and greateſt part of the army in queſt of the enemy. He at firſt poſted himſelf on an eminence about four miles from the camp of Syphax. Next day he came down with his cavalry into Great Plains below and paſſed the whole day in haraſſing the enemy by ſkirmiſhes, going up to the very gates of their camp. During the two following days the armies made excurſions againſt each other, in which nothing memorable paſſed. On the fourth, both actually drew up in order of battle. Scipio, according to the cuſtom of the Romans, poſted the principes in the ſecond line, behind the haſtati, who formed the front, and the triarii in the rear. He placed the Italian cavalry on the right wing and Maſiniſſa with his Numidians on the left. Syphax and Aſdrubal poſted their Numidians oppoſite to the Italian horſe, and the Carthaginians againſt Maſiniſſa. The Celtiberians formed their main body, and were to act againſt the Roman legions, that were drawn up facing them. In this order, they came to blows. On the firſt charge, both wings gave way on the ſide of CHAP. VIII.

CHAP. VIII.

the Carthaginians. Syphax's Numidians, who were moſtly peaſants, could not ſuſtain the charge of the Roman cavalry, nor the Carthaginians, who were but new raiſed troops to that of Maſiniſſa's, which, beſides former victories, were terrible to them on account of the late one. The Celtiberians, though abandoned and expoſed by the flight of the two wings, maintained their ground, becauſe not knowing the country, they could not hope to find ſafety in flight, or pardon from Scipio, the benefactor of their nation and of them in particular, who had now come into Africa to ſerve againſt him. Being ſurrounded on all ſides they died with the greateſt obſtinacy, falling one on the top of another. Their long reſiſtance having employ'd the Romans, gave Syphax and Aſdrubal time to eſcape. The night drew off the victors fatigued with the ſlaughter rather than fighting.

CHAP. IX.

NEXT day Scipio ſent Lælius and Maſiniſſa with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry, and a detachment of infantry, in purſuit of Syphax. As for himſelf, with the groſs of his army, he reduced all the neighboring cities ſubject to Carthage, either by force, menaces, or hopes of good treatment. There was great conſternation and terror at Carthage, for they believed Scipio, who was carrying the force of his arms round all the neighboring cities, would ſoon ſubdue them, and then attack the metropolis itſelf. For this reaſon the fortifications were repaired, and put in a poſture of defence. Every one brought materials from the country, neceſſary for holding out a long ſiege. They made no mention of an accommodation, but many were for ſending deputies to Hannibal in Italy without loſs of time to recal him to Africa. But by order of the majority the fleet that had been fitted out to intercept the Roman ſtoreſhips was ſent to ſurprize that of the Romans, which was riding at anchor before Utica, apprehenſive of no danger; and it was hoped they might happily attack the naval camp, which he had left with an inconſiderable guard. Many approved of this motion. However

the

they dropt not the reſolution of ſending deputies to Hannibal, becauſe the ſucceſs that might be obtained againſt the enemy's fleet, might indeed relieve the city of Utica, but Carthage could only be defended by Hannibal and his army. The next day the fleet put to ſea, the deputies ſet out for Italy, and all things were managed with the greateſt expedition; and if any ſeemed to be ſlow in the buſineſs, he was looked upon as deſigning to betray the common ſafety. Scipio having determined to attack Carthage, and ſeeing his army encumbered with the ſpoils of many cities, ſent the priſoners and other booty to his firſt camp before Utica, and ſeized Tunis [a], abandoned by its gariſon. It is well fortified both by nature and art, and within fifteen miles of Carthage, of which it has a fine proſpect, and of the ſea all round. CHAP. IX.

THE Romans were already at work upon their entrenchments, when they diſcovered the fleet of the enemy rowing from Carthage to Utica. Scipio ordered them immediately to march away, apprehending that the ſhips which he had left to blockade that city might be ſurprized. They were not in a condition to oppoſe the Carthaginian ſhips, which were light and equipped with every thing neceſſary for a battle; whereas they were encumbred with all kinds of machines uſed in a ſiege, converted into ſtoreſhips, or lying ſo cloſe to the walls, that they ſerved as ſo many bridges from the ſea to the town. Scipio upon this occaſion did not follow the uſual method of forming the fleet: for having placed in the rear and near the ſhore the ſhips of force, which were uſually deſtined to defend the others, he oppoſed the enemy on the ſide next the ſea with the tranſports, of which he had formed four lines, like a rampart. To prevent their being broke in the tumult of the battle he faſtened them all together, by laying the maſts and yards acroſs from one ſhip to another, and binding the whole with large cables. This formed a body, CHAP. X.

[a] Now the capital of a kingdom of the ſame name, and ſtands on the gulph of *Goulette*.

CHAP. XI.

of which the parts were almoſt inſeparable. He afterwards covered them with bridges of planks, that the ſoldiers might paſs from one to another, and under the bridges he left intervals, through which the light pinnaces and frigates might paſs to obſerve the enemy, and retire again in ſafety. Having ſet theſe things in as good order as time would permit, he put 1000 choſen troops on board of the tranſports, and cauſed all ſorts of darts to be carried aboard, eſpecially thoſe that are diſcharged at a great diſtance, in large quantities. In this diſpoſition they waited the enemy's arrival. If the Carthaginians had not loſt time, they would have ſurprized the Romans in diſorder and confuſion, and have defeated them on the firſt attack: But being ſtill terrified with their defeats by land, and diffident of their ſtrength by ſea, though much ſuperior, they ſpent the whole day in their paſſage, and did not anchor till ſun-ſet in the port of Ruſcinon. Next day, at ſun-riſe, they drew up their ſhips out at ſea, ſuppoſing that the Romans would come out to attack them. They continued in this ſituation a conſiderable time; but ſeeing Scipio did not move, they ſtood in and charged the tranſports. This action had not the aſpect of a ſea-fight, but rather reſembled ſhips attacking a wall. The tranſports of the Romans were higher than the enemy's galleys, ſo that the darts of the Carthaginians could have but little effect by being thrown upwards; whereas thoſe of the Romans diſcharged from above by their very weight did great execution. The light pinnaces, which ſallied on the enemy through the intervals under the bridges, were ſoon overpowered by the ſhips of war, and incommoded the defendants on their own ſide, in regard that being mingled with the enemy's ſhips, they hindered them from throwing their darts, leſt they undeſignedly ſhould ſtrike them as well as the enemy. The Carthaginians at length began to throw grappling irons out of their ſhips into the tranſports, and as the Romans could not cut them, nor the chains by which they hung, the ſhip which had

had grappled a tranſport dragged it, and with it the whole line of which it was a part. This rude ſhock divided the planks of which the bridges were made, ſo that the Roman ſoldiers had ſcarce time to get to the ſecond row of barks. Six of theſe tranſport ſhips were towed to Carthage, where were much greater rejoicings than ſuch a ſmall ſucceſs deſerved. It occaſioned infinite joy, becauſe, after ſo many bloody defeats, received upon the necks of each other, after ſo many tears ſhed for the public misfortunes, it happened contrary to all hope: beſides it was a conſolation to them, to think that the Roman fleet would have been entirely deſtroy'd, if their commanders had been more expeditious, and prevented Scipio from coming ſeaſonably to it's relief. CHAP. XI.

DURING this time Lælius and Maſiniſſa arrived in Numidia after a march of fifteen days. The Maſſylians, Maſiniſſa's ſubjects, ſurrendered themſelves immediately with great joy and ardor to their lawful prince, whoſe return and re-eſtabliſhment they had long deſired. Though Syphax, whoſe lieutenants and gariſons had been driven entirely out of the country, had retired to his own kingdom, he was not like to continue long quiet. His wife, whom he loved to exceſs, and Aſdrubal his father-in-law, inceſſantly importuned him to continue the war: beſides the forces of ſo powerful a ſtate as his, that abounded with men and horſes, might have rouſed a prince leſs barbarous and tyrannical. Having therefore drawn together all the people he had capable of ſervice, he gave them horſes and arms, and divided his cavalry into ſquadrons, and his infantry into cohorts, as he had formerly been taught by the Roman centurions ſent to him from Spain by the Scipios. At the head of as numerous an army as he had ſome time before, but otherwiſe conſiſting of new raiſed ſoldiers ignorant of military diſcipline, he marched in queſt of the Romans. Having encamped near them, at firſt a few horſemen went forward from the advanced guard, to reconnoitre the CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XI. enemy, but were ſoon obliged by a ſhower of darts to retire to their lines. Then they made ſallies againſt one another: and thoſe who were repulſed, with indignation returned reinforced, which is very common in ſkirmiſhes between the cavalry, either from hopes of gaining a more complete victory, if they have the advantage, or from rage, if they have been worſted. Thus the action, which begun by a few, at length became general. As long as none but horſe were engaged, the Romans found it difficult to maintain their ground againſt the Maſæſylians, whom Syphax led on in great bodies. But as ſoon as the foot advanced to ſupport the cavalry, which opened to let them come on, their vigorous charge terrified the Barbarians, and abated their ardor. They ſtopt and fell into confuſion, as they were not uſed to fight with infantry, and in the end not only began to give ground to the foot, but were not able to ſuſtain the charge of the horſe, whoſe courage had encreaſed by their being ſupported by the legions. By this time the legions advanced, and the Maſæſylians, far from being in a condition to reſiſt, could not ſupport the ſight of them, ſo much were they diſcouraged, as well by the remembrance of their paſt defeats as by the fear that ſeized them at this inſtant.

CHAP. XII. THEN Syphax threw himſelf upon the Roman ſquadrons, to try whether the ſhame of abandoning him alone to ſo much danger would prevent the flight of his troops. But his horſe being wounded, he fell and was overpower'd. In conſequence he was made priſoner and carried alive to Lælius, which more particularly gave a moſt ſenſible pleaſure to Maſiniſſa. The greateſt part of the routed Numidians took refuge at Cyrta, the capital of Syphax's kingdom. The ſlaughter was not ſo great as none but the cavalry had been engaged. About 5000 of the enemy were killed upon the ſpot, and above 2000 taken priſoners in the attack of the camp, into which the Numidians had thrown themſelves in crowds after having loſt their king. Then Maſiniſſa repreſented, 'that

'nothing

'nothing could be more grateful to him, than immediately to go to his own kingdom, after having been deprived of it ſo long. Not a moment ought to be loſt in proſperity more than in adverſity. If Lælius would permit him to march before with his cavalry, and Syphax in chains, he would ſurprize Cyrta during the firſt alarm and conſternation, and he might follow him by ſhort marches with the infantry.' Lælius complied, and Maſiniſſa repaired to Cyrta, and immediately demanded an interview with the principal perſons of that city. As they were ignorant of the action and the misfortune of Syphax, he could not prevail on them either by promiſes or menaces, till he had ſhewn them their king in chains. This melancholy ſpectacle raiſed terrible lamentations. Some out of fear abandoned the walls; others to conciliate the victor's favor, opened the gates of the city, and ſurrendered to him. Maſiniſſa having poſted guards at the gates and round the walls to prevent any perſon from eſcaping, haſtened to the king's palace, in order to make himſelf maſter of it. Sophoniſba, wife of Syphax, and daughter of Aſdrubal, came out to receive him in the portico. Having diſcovered him in the midſt of the crowd, ſhe judged by the richneſs of his armor, and other marks of diſtinction, that he was the king; ſo ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and ſaid. 'The Gods, 'your valor and good fortune have rendered you 'abſolute maſter of my fate. But, if a captive 'queen may be allowed to ſupplicate the arbiter of 'her life and death; if ſhe may be ſuffered to em'brace your knees, and this victorious right hand; 'I beg and implore you by the regal majeſty, with 'which we alſo not long ſince were inveſted; by 'the name of Numidian, common to you with 'Syphax; by the Gods of this palace, (whom I 'pray to receive you more auſpiciouſly, than they 'ſent him hence) grant me this favor, that you your'ſelf will determine the fate of me your priſoner, 'and not abandon me to the pride and cruelty of any

CHAP. XII.

Roman

CHAP. XII.

'Roman. Were it only that I am the wife of Syphax, I would rather be at the mercy of a Numidian prince, a native of Africa as well as myself, than of a ſtranger and alien: but you are ſenſible what a Carthaginian, what the daughter of Aſdrubal has to fear from the Romans. If you can no other way ſave me from falling into their hands, do it by death, I beg, I conjure you.' Sophoniſba was in the freſheſt bloom of life, and ſurpaſſingly beautiful. She claſped his hands, and when ſhe begged, he would promiſe not to deliver her up to the Romans, her ſpeech rather reſembled the blandiſhments of love, than the prayers of a wretched ſuppliant. The conqueror melted not only to pity, but, as the Numidians generally are of an amorous diſpoſition, to love, being captivated with the charms of his priſoner: he gave her his right hand, the ſure pledge that he would perform what ſhe demanded, and ſo retired into her palace. But then he began to conſider by what means he ſhould perform his promiſe, and finding none, he took counſel of his impetuous blind paſſion. He reſolved to marry her that very day, that neither Lælius nor Scipio himſelf might treat as a captive the wife of Maſiniſſa. The ceremony was hardly over when Lælius arrived. Far from diſſembling his diſpleaſure at what had paſſed, he was upon the point of ſeizing Sophoniſba even in the nuptial bed, to ſend her with Syphax and the reſt of the priſoners to Scipio. But being overcome at length by the entreaties of Maſiniſſa, he referred to the judgment of Scipio, which of the two princes had the beſt right to Sophoniſba. Accordingly ſending Syphax and the other priſoners to the camp, he ſet out with Maſiniſſa to reduce the other cities that adhered to the king.

CHAP. XIII.

AS ſoon as it was known in the Roman camp, that Syphax was upon the point of arriving, the ſoldiers quitted it with the ſame eagerneſs, as they would to ſee the pomp of a triumph. The unfortunate prince walked foremoſt in chains, followed by a train

a train of Numidians of distinction. The Romans, to exalt their victory, exaggerating the greatness and power of Syphax, in emulation of each other, said: CHAP. XIII.

'This is the mighty monarch, to whom the Romans and Carthaginians, the two most powerful people of the earth, paid so much deference, that Scipio left his province and army, to go to Africa with two galleys to court his alliance; and Asdrubal, the Carthaginian general, had not only gone in person to his court, but given him his daughter in marriage. At the same time he had in his power the Roman and Carthaginian generals. Both had taken as much pains to gain him as to render the immortal Gods propitious. This is the prince, who had power sufficient to drive Masiniſſa out of his kingdom, and had reduced him to the sad necessity of hiding himself in the forests, to live like the wild beasts on prey, and to owe the preservation of his life to a report of his death.' Thus did the spectators talk of Syphax, who was carried to Scipio's tent. The remembrance of that prince's former greatness, compared with the sad condition he now saw him in, the friendly entertainment he had once received from him, the private amity and publick alliance, which they had contracted together, affected that general extremely. The same remembrance encouraged Syphax to speak with the more freedom to his conqueror. When Scipio asked him what he proposed to himself by not only rejecting the alliance of the Romans, but even declaring war against them, he frankly confessed 'he was in the wrong and had acted like a mad 'man. My phrenzy, however, did not begin when 'I took up arms against the Romans; that was the 'end not the beginning of it. Then indeed my 'madness commenced, then I forgot the laws of 'hospitality, all private ties and publick treaties, when 'I married a Carthaginian lady. My nuptial torch 'set my palace on fire. Sophonisba was the foul 'sorceress, the bewitching genius, who by all kinds 'of enchantments deprived me of my reason, and 'captivated

CHAP. XIII.

'captivated my ſenſes. She did not reſt, till with 'her own hands ſhe girded me with thoſe impious 'arms which I have employ'd againſt my friend, 'and gueſt. But in the midſt of my ruin and miſ-'fortunes, I have ſtill the conſolation to ſee this 'fury, this peſt, transferred to the houſe of my moſt 'implacable enemy: to ſee Maſiniſſa is neither wiſer 'or more ſteady than myſelf; nay, his youth will 'keep him leſs on his guard. At leaſt it is certain 'his marriage ſpeaks more folly and intemperance 'than mine.'

CHAP. XIV.

THIS diſcourſe dictated more by jealous rage than hatred, and ſeeing her whom he ſo paſſionately loved in the poſſeſſion of his rival, made a ſtrong impreſſion on Scipio's mind. Maſiniſſa's precipitate marriage with his priſoner, the very day he ſaw her, and ſolemnized in the houſe of his enemy, in the midſt of arms, without conſulting or waiting for Lælius, rendered Syphax's predictions too credible. So extravagant a conduct was the more offenſive to Scipio, as himſelf had been always inſenſible to the charms of the fair priſoners he had taken in Spain, though he was then in the bloom and vigor of his youth. While he was revolving in his thoughts this unaccountable event, Lælius and Maſiniſſa arrived. He gave them both an equally gracious reception, and in a crowded levy of his officers gave them all the praiſes due to their exploits. Then taking Maſiniſſa aſide he ſpoke to him in theſe terms. 'I be-'lieve, young prince, it was ſome good qualities, 'you ſaw in me, that induced you firſt to make an 'alliance with me in Spain, and ſince my arrival in 'Africa to confide your perſon and fortunes to my 'protection. Of all the virtues which made you 'deſirous of my friendſhip, I pride myſelf moſt 'in temperance and continence. I wiſh, Maſi-'niſſa, that to all your other eminent virtues, you 'would add theſe alſo. Believe me, Maſiniſſa, per-'ſons of our age are not in ſo much danger from 'armed enemies, as from the pleaſures which on all

'ſides

'ſides ſurround them. He who by ſelf-denial has CHAP.
'acquired the maſtery of his appetites and paſ- XIV.
'ſions, has gained a far more glorious victory, than
'we by vanquiſhing Syphax. I took great pleaſure
'in juſt now publickly acknowledging the great ex-
'ploits you have performed in my abſence, and I
'ſhall retain the remembrance of them. The reſt,
'I chuſe rather to leave to your reflection, than
'by repeating it to make you bluſh. It was under
'the auſpices of the Roman army that Syphax was
'defeated and taken priſoner. He, therefore, his
'wife, his kingdom, his lands, his cities, all who
'inhabit them, and in a word, every thing be-
'longing to him are become the property of the
'Roman people. Syphax and his queen, though
'ſhe were not a Carthaginian, and her father did
'not command the armies of Carthage, muſt be ſent
'to Rome, to have their fates determined by a Ro-
'man ſenate and people. She is guilty of having
'ſeduced a king from our alliance, and engaged him
'precipitately to take up arms againſt us. Try then
'Maſiniſſa to conquer yourſelf. Beware not to tar-
'niſh the luſtre of ſo many virtues by a ſingle vice.
'Do not loſe the merit of many ſervices, by a fault
'to which the cauſe of it bears no proportion.'

THIS ſpeech brought bluſhes into Maſiniſſa's CHAP.
cheeks, and drew tears from his eyes. He promiſed XV.
abſolutely to ſubmit to Scipio, imploring him how-
ever, as far as the ſituation of things would permit,
to ſhew ſome regard for the promiſe he had raſhly
made to Sophoniſba, not to deliver her up to any o-
ther perſon. Then he quitted the general's tent in
confuſion, and retired to his own. There ſhutting
himſelf up, he ſpent ſome time in ſighs and groans,
ſo loud as to be heard by thoſe that ſtood without.
At length after a great ſigh he called a faithful ſlave,
who had the charge of the poiſon, which, after the
manner of kings, was kept ready againſt unforeſeen
adverſities. He ordered him, when he had prepared
a potion, to carry it to Sophoniſba, and tell her, 'Ma-
'ſiniſſa

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'finiſſa would gladly have fulfilled his nuptial engagement, the obligation of a huſband to a wife; but ſince thoſe who had the power to hinder it, denied him that liberty, he now performed his other promiſe, not to ſuffer her to fall alive into the hands of the Romans. Mindful of her father, the general of the Carthaginians, of her country, and the two kings to whom ſhe had been married, ſhe would conſult her own honor.' When the miniſter of death delivered her the meſſage, and the poiſon, 'I accept, ſaid ſhe, this nuptial preſent, and even with gratitude, if it be true, that Maſiniſſa could do no more for his wife. Tell him, however, that I ſhould have died with more joy and honor, if I had not married at my funeral.' She ſpoke this with a reſolute air, and took the cup without the leaſt emotion or ſign of fear. Scipio having been informed of the whole, ſent for him immediately, leſt in the tranſports of youthful paſſion, his diſtempered mind might precipitate him to ſome more deſperate action; ſometimes he counſelled him, and ſometimes gently reproved him for having expiated one act of temerity by another, and brought the matter to a more tragical end than was neceſſary. Next day, to divert that prince's melancholy, he mounted his tribunal, and in the preſence of all his troops, ſtiled him king, and after having given him the higheſt praiſes, preſented him with a crown of gold, a gold cup, a curule chair, an ivory ſcepter, an embroidered robe, and a tunic wrought with palm branches; adding, that 'theſe were the moſt 'ſuperb ornaments worn in triumphs, than which 'nothing among the Romans was more magnificent, 'and that Maſiniſſa was the only foreigner, the Ro-'man people thought worthy of them.' He alſo was laviſh in praiſe of Lælius, and gave him a crown of gold, and afterwards rewarded all the other officers in proportion to the ſervices each had performed. The conferring of thoſe honors upon Maſiniſſa very much ſoothed his affliction, and gave him hopes, now Syphax was out of the way, of poſſeſſing all Numidia.

SCIPIO, having appointed Lælius to carry Syphax and the other priſoners to Rome, and made Maſiniſſa's ambaſſadors ſet out along with them, marched a ſecond time to Tunis, and completed the fortifications, which he had begun there. The joy of the Carthaginians, for the inconſiderable advantage they had gained over the Roman fleets, was of ſhort duration, and ſoon changed into a general conſternation, when they received advice of the defeat and taking of Syphax, upon whom they had relied more than upon Aſdrubal and his army. No body daring to ſpeak any more for continuing the war, for he would not have been heard; they ſent thirty of their principal ſenators to ſue for peace from Scipio. Theſe deputies were their grand council, and whoſe opinion had a very great influence upon the deciſions of the whole ſenate. As ſoon as they arrived in the camp of the Romans, and to Scipio's tent, they proſtrated themſelves at his feet, probably according to the cuſtom of the eaſtern nations, from whom the Carthaginians had derived their origin. Their diſcourſe was as humble as their firſt behavior. Without endeavoring to juſtify their conduct, they threw the whole blame of what had paſſed on Hannibal, and thoſe who favored his ambition. They implored forgiveneſs for their republick, which had twice deſerved to periſh, by the temerity of it's citizens, and would a ſecond time be indebted for it's preſervation to the clemency of it's enemies; adding, 'that they knew the Roman people did not ſeek 'the deſtruction of their adverſaries, but only the 'glory of conquering and ſubjecting them. They 'were ready to accept ſuch conditions as it ſhould 'pleaſe Scipio to impoſe upon them.' That general anſwered, 'he came to Africa in that confidence, 'which had been increaſed with the ſucceſſes the 'Gods had hitherto granted his arms. He expected 'to carry back victory not peace to Rome. How-'ever, though victory was in a manner in his hands, 'he did not refuſe them peace, that the whole uni-

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'verſe

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'verſe might be convinced, the Roman people could 'put an end to wars, as well as begin them. Ac- 'cordingly he would grant them peace upon the 'following conditions. That they ſhould reſtore the 'priſoners, fugitives and deſerters; withdraw their 'troops from Italy and Gaul; make an abſolute ceſ- 'ſion of Spain; yield up all the iſlands between 'Africa and Italy; deliver up all their ſhips of war 'except twenty; and ſupply him with 500000 buſh- 'els of wheat, and 300000 of barley.' Authors differ concerning the ſum of money they were to pay. Some affirm, he demanded 5000 talents, ſome 5000 pounds of ſilver weight, and others that they ſhould give his ſoldiers double pay. He gave them 'three 'days to deliberate upon theſe conditions; and in 'caſe Carthage ſhould accept them he agreed to 'grant them a truce, during which they might ſend 'ambaſſadors to Rome.' The conditions were accepted; becauſe the Carthaginians thought only of gaining time, till Hannibal ſhould return to Africa. Accordingly they appointed two embaſſies; one to Scipio to conclude the truce; and the other to Rome to demand peace. They ſent about 200 priſoners, fugitives and deſerters with the laſt only for form ſake, and to gain them peace the more eaſily.

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IN the mean time Lælius had arrived ſeveral days before at Rome with Syphax, and the Numidian nobles taken in war. He related to the ſenate all that had paſſed in Africa; which occaſioned great joy for the preſent, and raiſed their hopes for the future. The ſenators, after deliberation, reſolved, that Syphax ſhould be confined at Alba, and that Lælius ſhould ſtay at Rome, till the arrival of the ambaſſadors from Carthage, beſides they decreed a four days ſupplication to the Gods. The prætor P. Ælius, having diſmiſſed the ſenate, and called an aſſembly of the people, aſcended the tribune of harangues with Lælius. As ſoon as the citizens were informed from the mouth of Scipio's lieutenant, that the armies of the Carthaginians had been defeated;

that a famous and powerful king had been made pri- CHAP.
ſoner, and that all Numidia was ſubjected, they gave XVII.
themſelves up to immoderate joy, which they expreſſed by the loudeſt acclamations, and other expreſſions of it common with the multitude on like occaſions. For this reaſon the prætor immediately decreed, 'that the 'temples ſhould be opened throughout the city, and 'the people be at liberty to enter them, to return 'the Gods the thanks ſuch great benefits deſerved.' Next day the ſame prætor introduced Maſiniſſa's ambaſſadors into the ſenate, who began 'by congra-'tulating the Romans, upon the victories gained by 'Scipio in Africa. They then thanked them in the 'name of their maſter; firſt, for Scipio's having gi-'ven him not only the title, but actually made him 'a king, by re-eſtabliſhing him on the throne of his 'father, in which, after the fall of Syphax, he ſhould 'reign from thenceforth, if the ſenate thought fit, 'without rival or competitor: and next, for having 'been laviſh in his praiſes in a crowded aſſembly, and 'added to them rich preſents, of which that prince 'had endeavored to render himſelf worthy, and 'would ſpare no pains to merit more for the time to 'come: that he deſired the ſenate to ratify by a de-'cree all that Scipio had done in his favor, as well 'in reſpect to the title of king, as all the other gifts 'and benefactions, with which he had honored him. 'He alſo deſired, they would be pleaſed, if they 'found no inconvenience in it, to releaſe all the Nu-'midian priſoners confined at Rome, as this favor 'would do Maſiniſſa honor with his ſubjects.' The ambaſſadors were anſwered, 'That the king ought 'to ſhare with the Romans in the compliments, 'which the ſucceſſes in Africa deſerved. That Sci-'pio in giving him the title of king, and all the o-'ther marks of eſteem and benevolence, had fully 'anſwered the intentions of the ſenate, who with 'abundance of pleaſure ratified and approved that 'and every other thing which had been done agree-'able to Maſiniſſa.' They afterwards fixed the pre-

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ſents, which the ambaſſadors were to carry to their king; two purple ſaga with gold claſps, two ſenatorian robes, two horſes richly capariſoned; two cuiraſſes, with the reſt of the armor for an horſeman, two tents with all field equipage which were uſually given to conſuls. The prætor had orders to cauſe theſe gifts to be carried to Maſiniſſa. The ambaſſadors received, by way of preſent, 5000 aſſes of braſs each, and two habits; and thoſe of their train had each 1000 aſſes, and one habit: an habit was given to each of the Numidians taken out of the priſons, and reſtored to the king. The ambaſſadors were lodged and entertained at the public expence.

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THE ſame campaign in which theſe things were decreed at Rome, and executed in Africa, the prætor Varus, and the pro-conſul M. Cornelius, fought a pitched battle in the country of the Inſubrian Gauls, with Mago the Carthaginian general, Hannibal's brother. The prætor's legions were poſted in the front, and thoſe of Cornelius as a corps de reſerve, but he himſelf advanced to the front on horſeback, where he and the prætor on the two wings exhorted the ſoldiers to charge the enemy briſkly. But ſeeing all their arguments in vain, Quintilius called out to Cornelius, 'You ſee our troops charge more faintly than 'uſual, and the enemy, by making a better reſiſtance 'than they expected, maintain their ground more 'firmly than common without the leaſt ſign of fear: 'Their ardor, I am afraid, will augment to irreſiſti-'ble intrepidity. There is a neceſſity for us to ad-'vance furiouſly with the cavalry, if we would break 'their ranks and put them in diſorder. Wherefore 'do you either charge the enemy in the front with 'the legions, while I am leading on the horſe; or I 'ſhall act in the front, while you attack the enemy 'with the horſe of four legions.' The pro-conſul leaving it to the prætor's choice what part to act, Quintilius, attended by his ſon Marcus, an active youth, went to the horſe, ordered them to mount, and led them on immediately. The ſhout raiſed by

the legions increaſed the alarm occaſioned by the horſe; and the enemy had certainly given ground, had not Mago brought up his elephants, which he had ready for the purpoſe. The horſes were ſo affrighted at the ſtrange braying, ſtrong ſmell and hideous appearance of theſe animals, that their aid proved ineffectual. And though the Roman cavalry were ſuperior both in reſpect to their lances and ſwords, when they could come to cloſe fight with the Numidians, yet the latter had the advantage when they could throw their darts at a diſtance upon the Romans, whoſe horſes, being terrified by the elephants, would not come near. The twelfth legion, which was almoſt cut to pieces, ſtood their ground rather through ſhame, than that they had left ſtrength ſufficient to make head againſt the enemy: but they could not have held it out long, had not the thirteenth legion advanced from the rear to the front, and renewed the fight that ſeemed equal on both ſides. Mago oppoſed this freſh legion with the Gauls he had in the rear. Theſe being eaſily routed, the haſtati of the eleventh legion drew up in a cloſe body, and fell upon the elephants, which were now breaking the foot ranks: Having driven them all together, they let fly a thick ſhower of darts upon them, and all for the moſt part hitting the mark, the animals directly turned and ruſhed upon their own army; four of them being wounded, dropt down. Then the enemy's front was put into diſorder, and all the Roman infantry, ſeeing the elephants turn, ſprung forward at once, to increaſe the tumult and put them in greater fear. As long as Mago ſtood in the front, they retreated gradually, and kept fighting in order. But when they ſaw him wounded, and carried out of the battle half dead, they immediately all took to their heels. About 5000 of the enemy fell that day, and 22 enſigns were taken. This victory coſt the Romans dear; 2300 of the prætor's army were killed, far the greateſt part of the 12th legion, as alſo 2 legionary tribunes, M. Coſconius, and M. Mænius: Cn. CHAP. XVIII.

Helvius a tribune of the 13th legion, which was the laſt in engaging, was killed when he renewed the battle, and about 22 horſemen of diſtinction being trod down by the elephants were ſlain with ſome centurions. The battle had continued longer if the Carthaginian general's wound had not put an end to it.

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MAGO, who had been wounded in the battle, retired the following night to the ſea coaſt into the country of the Ligurians and Ingaunii, making as long marches as he could conveniently for his wounds. Here he found the deputies from Carthage, who a few days before had arrived in the gulph of Genoa[a]. They ordered him immediately to return to Africa, whither his brother Hannibal had alſo received orders to return as ſoon as poſſible, for the ſtate of Carthage was ſuch as obliged them to recal their troops from Gaul and Italy. Mago was induced to retire, not only by the orders of the ſenate, and the danger his country was expoſed to, but by fear, leſt if he delay'd the enemy would overtake him: The Ligurians alſo, ſeeing Italy abandoned by the Carthaginians, went over to them, who otherwiſe would ſoon have ſubjected them. Aſdrubal believing that his wounds would better endure a voyage by ſea, than travelling by land, and would be more eaſily cured, embarked his troops, but died before he had doubled Sardinia. Some of the Carthaginian ſhips, being diſpered at ſea, were ſurprized and taken by the Roman fleet, which lay at anchor near that iſland. Theſe were the tranſactions both by ſea and land in that part of Italy which lyeth along the Alps. The conſul, C. Servilius, did nothing memorable either in the province of Hetruria or Gaul, for he had likewiſe gone thither, only he ranſomed his father C. Servilius, and his uncle C. Lutatius, ſixteen years after they had been taken priſoners by the Boii, at the village Tanetus. He returned to Rome with his father on his right, and his uncle on his left hand,

[a] The gulph of *Lyons*.

being

being more remarkable for his private actions than those of a more publick nature. A bill was preſented to the people, that it ſhould not be imputed as a fault to Servilius, that during his father's lifetime, who had been curule ædile, he had been created tribune of the people and ædile contrary to law, ſince he was ignorant of the matter. After the bill was paſſed he returned to his province. Conſentia, Uffugum[a], Vergæ[b], Beſidiæ[c], Hetriculum[d], Sypheum[e], Argentanum[f], Clampetia, and many other places of ſmall account came over to C. Servilius, who was then in Bruttium, becauſe they ſaw the Carthaginian war now declining. The ſame conſul fought with Hannibal in the country of the Crotonians, but nothing memorable paſſed in that action. Valerius Antias tells us that 5000 of the enemy were killed, a thing of ſuch conſequence, that it was great impudence to feign it if not true; or great negligence in other hiſtorians not to mention it, if it was fact. This was the laſt memorable action of Hannibal in Italy, for the ambaſſadors came from Carthage to call him to Africa, about the ſame time they came to Mago. CHAP. XIX.

HANNIBAL could not hear the ambaſſadors without rage and indignation, and could ſcarce refrain tears. When they had done ſpeaking, he ſaid, 'Now they openly and expreſsly recal me, who 'have been dragging me away ever ſince; they refuſed 'me ſupplies of men and money. Hannibal at 'length is vanquiſhed, not by the Romans, whom 'he hath ſo often routed, but by the detraction and 'envy of the Carthaginian ſenate. Scipio will not ex'ult more at my ſhameful return, than Hanno, who 'not being able to deſtroy my family any other way, is 'reſolved to overwhelm it in the ruins of Carthage.' However, having long foreſeen what now happened, CHAP. XX.

[a] Now *Faggiano* in *Hither Calabria*.
[b] Now *Roggiano*.
[c] *Biſignano*.
[d] Now *Latarico*, eight miles weſt of the former.
[e] *Caſtrovillare*.
[f] Near *Mount Alto*, midway between *Conſentia* and St. *Marco*.

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he had taken care to keep his fleet in readineſs. After having diſtributed all the uſeleſs part of his ſoldiery into a ſmall number of cities in Bruttium, that ſtill adhered to him, rather out of fear than affection, under pretence of guarding them; he took with him the ſtrength of his army, having had the cruelty to put to the ſword a great number of Italian ſoldiers, who had refuſed to follow him to Africa, in the temple of Juno Lacinia, which had hitherto been an inviolable aſylum. No one ever went into baniſhment from his native country with greater reluctance, than Hannibal left that of an enemy. He often looked back on the coaſts of Italy, accuſing Gods and men, and venting againſt himſelf imprecations, 'for not having led his ſoldiers, reeking with 'Roman blood after the battle of Cannæ, to Rome. 'That Scipio, who during his conſulſhip had not 'ſo much as ſeen the Carthaginian in Italy, had the 'courage and boldneſs to go to Africa, to attack 'Carthage; whereas he, who had killed above an '100000 men at Thraſymen and Cannæ, had grown 'white about Caſilinum, Cumæ and Nola.' With theſe mournful complaints and bitter reproaches did he drag himſelf from the heart of that Italy of which he had been ſo long in poſſeſſion.

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THE Romans at the ſame time received advice of the retreat of Hannibal, and of that of Mago. The joy which this double deliverance gave them, was much abated by the anxiety they were in for Scipio, upon whom alone the whole weight of the war was now to fall, and by ſeeing the generals, whom the ſenate had ordered to detain the two Carthaginians, had neither inclination nor ſtrength to do it. About this time arrived at Rome ambaſſadors from Saguntum, who brought with them ſome Carthaginian officers, their ſtate had taken priſoners as they were going with money into Spain to raiſe troops. They delivered in the porch of the ſenate 250 pounds weight of gold, and 800 of ſilver. The priſoners they brought were received off their hands, and immediately thrown into jail, but the money

money was returned them with thanks for their zeal. Presents were also made them, and ships given them to carry them back to Spain. Then one of the senators observed, 'That men were less sensible of 'the good they received, than of the ill they suffered. He remembered the terror and consternation they were in when Hannibal entered Italy. 'What calamities, losses and defeats had they sustained since that time! They had seen the enemy incamped at the gates of Rome! What vows had 'individuals, and the public too, made to be delivered from those evils! How often had they with 'extended hands cried out in their assemblies: Shall 'we ever see the happy days, when Italy shall be 'delivered from it's cruel enemies, and enjoy the 'blessings of peace and tranquillity? The Gods had 'at length heard their prayers, and granted them 'that favor after sixteen years of alarms and miseries, and yet no one had proposed to return them 'thanks. So true it was, that men, far from being grateful for past favors, were little affected 'with those they received at present.' After this discourse they demanded with warmth, that the prætor should make the motion, and it was immediately decreed with unanimous consent, that during five days prayers should be offered at all the shrines in the city, and that 120 great victims should be sacrificed to the Gods. Lælius and Masinissa's ambassadors were already dismissed, when advice came, that those of Carthage who were sent to ask peace, were arrived at Puteoli, from whence they were to come to Rome by land. Upon which an order was sent to Lælius to return, and be present at the negotiation of peace. Q. Fulvius Gillus, one of Scipio's lieutenants, brought the ambassadors to Rome. They were forbid to enter the city, but were lodged in an inn in the villa publica, and had audience in the temple of Bellona.

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THEY spoke in much the same strain as before to Scipio, throwing the blame of the war upon Hannibal; 'That he passed the Ebro and then the Alps

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'without the order of their ſenate; and had declared war firſt againſt the Saguntines, and afterwards againſt the Romans by his own authority. 'To judge rightly of things, the treaty of alliance 'which had been made with the Romans, had not 'been violated in the leaſt by the ſenate and people 'of Carthage. For theſe reaſons, their inſtructions 'extended no farther than to deſire, that the peace 'made with the conſul Lutatius ſhould continue in 'full force.' The prætor, according to an ancient cuſtom, having permitted the ſenators to aſk the deputies ſuch queſtions as they ſhould judge proper, many of the ſeniors, who had been concerned in the former treaty, examined them concerning it. But they being moſtly young men, anſwered, that they had no knowledge of thoſe things which happened in their infancy. Upon this the whole houſe exclamed againſt the perfidy of the Carthaginians, who had deſignedly choſen young ambaſſadors to renew an ancient peace, of which they had not the leaſt remembrance or knowledge.

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THEY then withdrew, and the ſenate proceeded to give their opinions. M. Livius was for having the conſul C. Servilius, who was neareſt Rome, ſent for, in order that the ſenate might treat of the peace in his preſence. He repreſented: 'That the affair 'being of the utmoſt conſequence, it did not ſeem 'conſiſtent with the dignity of the Roman people, 'to determine concerning it, without the two con'ſuls, or at leaſt one of them.' Q. Metellus, who had been conſul three years before, and dictator, ſaid, 'that as it was P. Scipio, who, by cutting the armies 'of the Carthaginians in pieces, and ravaging their 'countries had reduced them to the neceſſity of 'humbly ſueing for peace; no body could better 'judge of their intentions in aſking it, than he who 'was actually before their gates: he was therefore 'of opinion, they ought to direct themſelves ſolely 'by his counſel, in reſpect to granting or refuſing 'them peace.' M. Valerius Lævinus, who had been twice

twice conſul inſiſted, 'that they were rather ſpies than CHAP. XXIII.
'ambaſſadors, who were come from Carthage; and
'that they ought to be ordered to quit Italy direct-
'ly, and be ſent under a guard to their ſhips; and
'that Scipio ſhould be directed to proſecute the war
'with vigor.' Lælius and Fulvius joined in this opinion, adding, 'That Scipio had no hopes of
'peace, as Mago and Hannibal were recalled from
'Italy. That the Carthaginians would refuſe no
'conditions, to gain time for the return of their ge-
'nerals and armies: but that they no ſooner would
'hear, that they were upon their return, than they
'would have no regard to treaties, however lately
'concluded, nor to the Gods themſelves, but in-
'ſtantly reſume their arms.' For theſe reaſons they adhered to the opinion of Lævinus, and the ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed without obtaining peace, and almoſt without receiving an anſwer.

IN the mean time the conſul Servilius, preſum- CHAP. XXIV.
ing he ſhould have the glory of having reſtored peace to Italy, went over to Sicily with deſign to purſue Hannibal to Africa, as if he had driven him out of Italy. When this news came to Rome, the ſenate decreed, that the prætor ſhould write to the conſul, that it was the mind of the ſenate he ſhould return to Italy. But the prætor having remonſtrated that the conſul would have no regard to his letters, P. Sulpicius was declared dictator, who by an authority, ſuperior to that of the conſul, obliged Servilius to return to Italy. The dictator paſſed the reſt of the year with M. Servilius his general of horſe, in going round to the cities of Italy, that had revolted from the Romans during the war, and in examining the different motives of their defection. During the truce 100 tranſports ſent by Lentulus prætor of Sardinia, under the convoy of 20 ſhips of force, arrived in Africa without meeting either enemy or ſtorm. Cn. Octavius was not ſo fortunate; for having left Sicily with 200 tranſports under convoy of 30 ſhips of war, when he was almoſt in ſight of Africa,

P. Sulpicius dictator, M. Servilius general of horſe.

CHAP. XXIV.

Africa he was becalmed; and ſoon after the wind coming quite contrary, diſperſed his fleet. As for himſelf, after having ſtruggled a conſiderable time, by the help of oars he arrived with the great ſhips at the promontory of Apollo[a]. But the tranſports were moſt of them driven upon the coaſt of the iſland Ægimurus, which on the ſide next the main ſea cloſes the gulph in which Carthage is built, and is about 30 miles diſtant from that city: the reſt were carried oppoſite to it to the place called the hot baths. All this paſſed in the ſight of Carthage. The people in conſequence ran to the forum, the magiſtrates aſſembled the ſenate, the multitude who were in the porch preſſed the ſenators not to let ſo conſiderable a prey eſcape, which in a manner came of itſelf into their hands. The moſt prudent repreſented in vain, that they had ſent to aſk peace, and that the truce was not expired. But the people mingled with the ſenators, made ſuch warm inſtances, that at laſt it was agreed, Aſdrubal ſhould go with a fleet of 50 ſail to the iſland Ægimurus, to cruize along the coaſts and neighboring ports, to pick up the veſſels of the Romans, which the ſtorm had deſperſed. The tranſports being abandoned by their ſailors, were firſt brought from Ægimurus, and then from Aquæ to Carthage.

CHAP. XXV.

THE ambaſſadors were not yet returned from Rome, the reſolution of the Roman ſenate, with reſpect to peace or war, was not known, nor the truce expired. Scipio was the more incenſed at this proceding, as it came from a people who had ſued for peace and truce, and yet had broke the latter and diſpelled all hopes of obtaining the former. He ſent three deputies directly to Carthage, M. Bæbius, M. Servilius, and L. Fabius. On their arrival they were inſulted by the mob who aſſembled round them, and it is probable would have run a great riſque at their return, if the magiſtrates at their requeſt had not granted them a convoy to protect them from

[a] Now *Roſamilara*.

injury,

injury. They were allowed two triremes, which conducted them till they arrived at the river Bragada, where they were in view of the Roman camp, and then returned to Carthage. The Carthaginian navy lay before Utica, from which four quadriremes were detached: whether it was by ſecret intelligence from Carthage, or that Aſdrubal the admiral dared to commit ſo foul an action, without any authority from the ſtate, is uncertain, however they attacked a Roman quinquireme from the main ſea, as ſhe was doubling the cape. But as ſhe was a nimble ſailor they could not hurt her with their beaks, nor could the ſoldiers board her as ſhe was higher than theirs. Beſides her crew made a gallant reſiſtance as long as their miſſile weapons laſted; but when they were all ſpent, and they had no other means of preſervation left, than to run her aſhore, and be protected by their own men, who flocked to their relief from the camp, they ply'd their oars as hard as they could. The ſhock daſhed the ſhip to pieces, but all on board eſcaped. Thus the truce being broken by repeated acts of hoſtility, Lælius and Fulvius came from Rome into Scipio's camp, with the Carthaginian deputies, to whom Scipio ſaid, 'Though the Carthaginians had not only broken the truce, by attacking their ſhips, but even violated the law of nations, by inſulting his ambaſſadors; yet he would not act towards them in a manner repugnant to the Roman cuſtoms, or his ordinary method.' When he had done ſpeaking he diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, and prepared to proſecute the war. As Hannibal drew near the coaſt he ordered a ſailor to the topmaſt head to diſcover the country. This fellow told him he ſaw the ruins of a tomb directly ahead of them. Hannibal diſliking the omen, ordered the pilot to ſail on, and accordingly landed his army at Leptis. CHAP. XXV.

THESE things were acted in Africa this campaign. What follows happened that year, in which Servilius Geminus, the preſent general of horſe, and Tib. Claudius Nero were conſuls. About the end of the laſt CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVII.

laſt year, when the deputies of the allies came from Greece to complain that their country was ravaged by Philip's troops, and that they had ſent ambaſſadors into Macedonia to demand reſtitution, that king refuſed them audience. At the ſame time they ſaid, that he had ſent a large ſum of money, and 4000 men under the command of Sopater into Africa, to aid the Carthaginians. Upon this the ſenate concluded to ſend an embaſſy to acquaint Philip, that the conſcript fathers judged this to be an infraction of the treaty. The deputies were C. Terentius Varro, C. Mamilius, and M. Aurelius. Each of them had a quinquireme given him. This year happened a great fire, which burnt down the clivus publicius to the ground; as alſo great land floods. To compenſate which the corn was very cheap, in regard that not only all Italy was open now by a general peace, but M. Valerius Falto, and M. Fabius Buteo, curule ædiles, had ſent a conſiderable quantity from Spain, and ſold it among the people from ſtreet to ſtreet, at four aſſes the buſhel. This year likewiſe was remarkable for the death of Q. Fabius Maximus, who was of an advanced age, and as ſome authors affirm augur 62 years. He was certainly worthy of the name of Maximus, even if he had been the firſt called by that name. He exceded his father's glory, and equalled that of his grandfather. The many and bloody victories that Rullus his grandfather had gained made him more conſpicuous, but ſtopping the rapid progreſs of a ſingle enemy, Hannibal, equalled them all. He was accounted more prudent and circumſpect than active and enterprizing: but it is a queſtion whether his caution was the effect of temper, or of the nature of the war he had to conduct; but it is abſolutely certain as, Ennius ſays, this ſingle man by his wiſe management preſerved our ſtate from ruin. Q. Fabius Maximus, his ſon, ſucceded him as augur, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, as pontifex maximius, for he was veſted with two ſacerdotal dignities. The Roman games were celebrated

brated for one day, and the plebeian thrice over by the ædiles, M. Sextius Sabinus, and C. Tremellius Flaccus. Both theſe were elected prætors, together with C. Livius Salinator and C. Aurelius Cotta. Authors ſeem to vary in their accounts, and leave it uncertain, whether the conſul Servilius preſided at the elections, or if he choſe P. Sulpicius dictator to hold them, he himſelf being neceſſarily detained in Etruria to examine by order of the ſenate ſome perſons of diſtinction concerning a plot they were engaged in.

CHAP. XXVII.

M. Servilius and T. Claudius conſuls. Y. of R. 550. B. J. C. 202.

ABOUT the beginning of the enſuing year, M. Servilius and T. Claudius, having aſſembled the ſenate in the capitol, brought the affair of the provinces upon the carpet. They earneſtly deſired to draw lots for Africa and Italy. But by the intereſt of Q. Metellus, Africa was neither granted nor denied to either of them. They were ordered to deal with the tribunes of the people, if they thought it fit to refer to the people the nomination of a general for Africa. All the tribes unanimouſly named Scipio. Notwithſtanding the conſuls drew lots for Africa, becauſe the ſenate had ſo decreed: accordingly it fell to Ti. Claudius, who had orders to ſail thither, with a fleet of 50 ſail of quinqueremes: However Scipio was to have an equal command with him. M. Servilius had Hetruria; C. Servilius had his commiſſion renewed for the ſame province, if the ſenate thought proper to keep the conſul in the city. The provinces were diſtributed among the prætors thus: M. Sextius had Gaul; Varus was ordered to deliver up the province and legions to him. C. Livius was to command in Bruttium, with the two legions, that P. Sempronius the pro-conſul had been at the head of the former year. Cn. Tremellius had the government of Sicily, and orders to receive the province and command of the two legions from P. Villius Tappulus, who had been prætor there the year before. Villius the pro-prætor was commiſſioned to guard the coaſt of Sicily, with twenty men of war, and 1000 marines, and M. Pomponius to ſend over

CHAP. XXVII.

over to Rome 1500 ſoldiers on board the 20 ſhips that remained. The juriſdiction of the city fell to C. Aurelius. All the reſt had their commiſſions renewed, according to the provinces had fallen to their ſhare and the armies they commanded. The forces of the commonwealth conſiſted of 16 legions this year. They alſo decreed before they ſhould enter upon action to appeaſe the Gods and to celebrate the games, which T. Manlius the dictator had promiſed when M. Claudius Marcellus and T. Quinctius were conſuls, and to offer up the greater ſacrifices, which he had vowed, if Rome ſhould continue in the ſame floriſhing ſtate it was then in, and that the conſuls ſhould be perſonally preſent at them, before they ſet out to the war. Accordingly they were performed in the circus, and the ſacrifices they had vowed were offered up.

CHAP. XXVIII.

MEAN time the Roman people were diſtracted between the paſſions of hope and fear; neither could they determine in their minds, whether they ought to expreſs greater joy that Hannibal had quitted Italy, and left it open to the Romans, after he had poſſeſſed it for ſixteen years, or uneaſineſs, that he had landed his troops ſafely in Africa. 'The ſeat of 'the war, ſaid they, was indeed changed, but the 'danger was the ſame. Q. Fabius, lately deceaſed, 'had frequently predicted, that Hannibal would be 'a more formidable enemy in his own country than 'in a foreign land. That Scipio had not to deal with 'Syphax, a barbarous prince, who appeared at the 'head of an army conſiſting of baggage boys, whom 'Statorius had diſciplined; nor with his father-in-law 'Aſdrubal a cowardly general; nor with an army of 'half armed peaſants raiſed in haſte; but with Han-'nibal, born in the pavilion of that illuſtrious cap-'tain his father, an able general, trained up in the 'wars from his infancy, who ſerved as a ſoldier when 'a boy, and when a youth commanded in chief; 'whoſe riper age was an uninterrupted ſeries of 'victories; who filled Spain, Gaul, and Italy with

'monuments

'monuments of his unparalleled atchievements; CHAP.
'who was at the head of a veteran army, which XXVIII.
'had followed him ever ſince he was a ſoldier, and
'were inured to all kinds of hardſhips, to a prodi-
'gy; whoſe hands frequently reeked with Roman
'blood, and had not only carried the ſpoils of ſol-
'diers, but even of generals themſelves. Scipio would
'meet with many men in the battle who had killed
'prætors and Roman conſuls with their own hands,
'diſtinguiſhed with military badges, for ſcaling the
'enemy's walls, and intrepidly forcing their lines,
'who had traverſed the camps they had abandoned,
'and the Roman towns they themſelves had taken.
'The Roman magiſtrates had not at this day ſo many
'faſces, as Hannibal could carry before his army, and
'which he had taken from ſlaughtered generals.'
By thus revolving theſe anxious thoughts, they in-
creaſed their own fears, becauſe they were wont to
ſee as it were with their eyes, the war protracted in
different parts of Italy, with little hopes of coming
to any period, and they had hoped Scipio and Han-
nibal were the two generals prepared to terminate it.
Thoſe who confided moſt in Scipio, and were in a
manner aſſured of victory, yet were mightily perplex-
ed, as the deciſive hour approached. The Carthagi-
nians were in the ſame perplexity, and now repented
they had ſo earneſtly ſued for peace, when they re-
flected on the abilities and glorious actions of Han-
nibal; at other times when they conſidered they had
been worſted twice in battle, that Syphax was taken pri-
ſoner, their armies driven out of Spain and Italy, and
all the effect of the courage and conduct of Scipio,
they were afraid, that the fates had deſtined him to
raze Carthage.

HANNIBAL had come to Adrumetum, where CHAP.
having refreſhed his ſea-ſick ſoldiers for ſome days, XXIX.
he was rouſed with expreſſes, that brought him the
news, that all the parts adjacent to Carthage were
filled with Roman troops. Upon this he came by
long marches to Zama [a]. This city is about five days

[a] Now *Zamora*.

journey

CHAP. XXIX.

journey ſouth-weſt of Carthage. From hence he diſpatched ſcouts, whom the Roman ſentinels apprehended and brought before Scipio. He ordered them to be delivered to the tribunes, to be led round the camp, and look into all the quarters of it they pleaſed without the leaſt dread. Then he aſked them, if they had ſufficiently viewed every thing. At laſt he ſent them back under an eſcorte to Hannibal. The Carthaginian general was not pleaſed with the news they brought him, for that very day Maſiniſſa had come in perſon to the Roman camp with 6000 foot and 4000 horſe. But in particular he was ſtruck with Scipio's air of confidence, as it muſt have been ſolidly founded. Wherefore, though he himſelf was the ſpring of the war, and his coming had broke the truce, and prevented all hopes of an accommodation, yet reflecting he would obtain peace upon more honorable terms, when his army was entire than when defeated, he diſpatched a courier to Scipio, deſiring an interview. I cannot poſitively ſay, whether he did this of his own motion, or by commiſſion from the ſenate. The hiſtorian Antias Valerius tells us, that Scipio having conquered Hannibal in the firſt battle, in which 12000 of his men were killed and 1700 taken priſoners, the latter came with ten other deputies to Scipio's camp. The Roman general granted him his requeſt, whereupon both of them moved their camps nearer, to facilitate the conference. Scipio encamped near Nadagara [a], a very advantageous poſt, becauſe the water was within throw of a dart. Hannibal poſted himſelf upon an eminence four miles from thence, commodious in all other reſpects, but water. They choſe a plain in the middle between the two armies, where all was open to view, and no ambuſh could be laid.

CHAP. XXX.

HAVING ſeparated from their eſcortes, and each attended by an interpreter, not only the two braveſt generals of that age, but who excelled all the kings and commanders that had appeared in former

[a] Retains its ancient name.

CHAP. XXX.

ages, met here. Both remained ſilent for ſome time, viewing each other with mutual admiration. Then Hannibal ſpoke firſt: 'Since fate has ſo decreed it, 'that I, who began the war againſt the Romans, and 'who have ſo often been on the point of terminat-'ing it by a complete victory, ſhould come to aſk 'peace, I rejoice it is of you I have the fortune to 'aſk it. This will not be the leaſt of your glories, 'that Hannibal, by the favor of the Gods victorious 'over ſo many Roman generals, has at laſt ſubmitted 'to you, and that you have terminated a war, which 'in the beginning was more fatal to the Romans 'than to us. I muſt look upon it as a ſtrange ſport 'of fortune, that I, who had taken up arms when 'your father was conſul, who was the firſt gene-'ral of the Romans I gave battle to, ſhould be forced 'without arms to aſk peace of his ſon. It had cer-'tainly been extremely fortunate if the Gods had 'granted our forefathers the mind to have confined 'their ambition, yours within the limits of Italy, 'and ours within thoſe of Africa: and if the Ro-'mans had not thought Sicily, and the Carthagi-'nians Sardinia prize ſufficient to compenſate the 'loſs of ſo many formidable fleets, powerful armies, 'and brave commanders; but paſt errors can be 'cenſured with more eaſe than corrected. Both ſides 'have ſo eagerly ſought foreign poſſeſſions as to put 'their own to the hazard of war. Italy was not on-'ly the ſeat of war in reſpect of you, and Africa of 'us, but you even ſaw the enemy in your gates, and 'on the point of ſcaling your walls; and we in our 'turn, have heard the noiſe of the Roman army 'from the walls of Carthage. Now in the height 'of your conqueſt the queſtion is about peace, the 'thing we moſt abhor and you moſt deſire. We, 'whom it moſt highly concerns, are met to ſettle it; 'and whatever we ſhall conclude, our ſtates will 'certainly ratify: We want nothing but hearts diſ-'poſed to peaceable meaſures. For my own part, 'my years (for I am now returned white to my

CHAP. XXX.

'country, which I left when a boy) alternate proſperity and adverſity have taught me to leave nothing 'to the deciſion of fortune which reaſon can determine. But I am afraid that your youth, and uninterrupted ſucceſſes, will make you averſe to all 'propoſals of peace. He, whom fortune has never 'failed, rarely reflects on her inconſtancy. You are 'in the ſame ſituation now, as I was at Thraſymen 'and Cannæ. You received the chief command before you had arrived at the proper age, and fortune has never failed you who ſet out with ſo much 'confidence. You have avenged the death of your 'father and uncle, and from the ruin of your family 'have acquired a glorious character of valor and piety. You have recovered Spain, and driven four 'Carthaginian armies thence; was elected conſul 'when none of the reſt of your countrymen had reſolution to defend your country: You have come 'over to Africa, defeated two armies, taken and 'burnt two camps in one day, taken Syphax, a very 'potent prince, priſoner, reduced a great number of 'his and our cities, and drag'd me out of Italy after 'I poſſeſſed it for ſixteen years. You deſire victory 'rather than peace, and conſult your ambition rather than advantage. But reflect fortune once ſmiled 'as much upon me. Would the Gods grant us 'the bleſſing of reflection when fortune ſmiles, our 'thoughts would extend beyond what is paſt to 'futurity. Without mentioning other captains, I am 'a ſtrong inſtance of the viciſſitudes of fortune. I who 'not long ago pitched my camp between Rome and 'the Anio, whom you ſaw on the point of ſcaling the 'walls of your capital; you now ſee, after the death 'of my two brothers, moſt renowned commanders, 'afraid of Carthage which is almoſt beſieged, and 'obliged to aſk you to ſpare my country the calamities with which I once threatned your city. We 'ought not to truſt fortune becauſe ſhe ſmiles. During 'your ſucceſſes and our diſtreſs, a peace will be glorious on your part, whereas on ours it will be more

'neceſſary

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'neceſſary than honorable. A certain peace is pre-
'ferable to the hope of victory. The one is in your
'power, the other at the determination of the Gods;
'don't run the riſque of loſing, in one moment, the
'glory you have acquired in many years. Weigh
'your own ſtrength, the inconſtancy of fortune, and
'the uncertain fate of war. There will be men and
'arms on both ſides: In war eſpecially events leaſt
'anſwer our expectations. Should you prove victo-
'rious, it would not add ſo much to your glory, as
'what you may acquire by granting peace; and if
'vanquiſhed, how much will you loſe? A ſingle
'hour may diveſt you of all your paſt glory, and
'daſh all your hopes for the future. In conclud-
'ing a peace, Scipio, every thing is in your own
'power; but in war the Gods diſpoſe of events. If
'Regulus, formerly in this ſame country, had grant-
'ed our forefathers the peace they aſked, he had
'been one of the moſt illuſtrious patterns of courage
'and ſucceſs, among the few the world have pro-
'duced: but proſperity making him excede all mo-
'derate bounds, and his not ſtopping at the critical
'minute of his fortune, his fall proved greater in
'proportion to the pinnacle of honor from which he
'was precipitated. He who grants peace, preſcribes
'the conditions: but perhaps though we do not e-
'ven deſerve to have it granted on the ſame terms,
'that were formerly propoſed, yet you may ſuffer
'us to demand better. We do not refuſe to let you
'remain in poſſeſſion of all the places which were the
'ſpring and cauſe of the war, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain,
'and all the iſlands between Africa and Italy. Let
'us, confined within the narrow limits of Africa,
'ſince it is the will of the Gods, ſee you abſolute
'ſovereigns of all without it both by ſea and land. I
'own you have reaſon to ſuſpect the Carthaginian
'faith, on account of inſincerity in our late appli-
'cations for peace. The inviolable obſervation of
'peace depends much on the perſon who aſks it. I
'am told, that the principal motive which induced
'your ſenators to deny us peace, was the want of dig-

'nity in our ambaſſadors. It is I, Hannibal, who now 'aſk peace: if I did not think it expedient I would 'not aſk it; and as I think it advantageous for my 'country I will inviolably maintain it. As I took care 'that no Carthaginian ſhould have reaſon to com-'plain of the war I began, till the Gods themſelves 'envied me the glory; ſo I ſhall exert myſelf that all 'may be ſatisfied with the peace procured by me.'

CHAP. XXXI.

THE Roman general anſwered: 'I know very 'well, Hannibal, that it was the hope of your re-'turn that induced the Carthaginians to violate the 'truce, and fruſtrate the peace when juſt upon the 'point of being concluded. You do not deny this 'yourſelf, when you retrench from your former con-'ceſſions every thing, except what we were maſters of 'long ago. But, as it is your care that your fellow 'citizens ſhould be ſenſible of the obligation to you 'of being eaſed of ſome part of their burden, ſo it 'ought to be mine, that they draw no advantage 'from their perfidiouſneſs in your former conceſ-'ſions, and preſent retrenchments. Your country-'men deſerved not even the former peace, as ap-'pears plainly from your having ſought to gain ad-'vantage by perfidy. Our forefathers did not carry 'their arms into Sicily, nor we ours into Spain with 'a view to conqueſt. The imminent danger of the 'Mamertines our allies led them to the former, and 'the ſacking of Saguntum gave us a juſt and pious 'cauſe to enter the latter. You have confeſſed, that 'you were the aggreſſors, and the Gods have con-'firmed it, in vouchſafing them victory, who had 'right on their ſide, in the firſt war, and may, nay 'they will, grant it in this. As for myſelf, I am 'very ſenſible of human weakneſs, the power 'of fortune, and that all our enterprizes are ſubject 'to a thouſand chances. But, as I would acknow-'ledge, that if you had voluntarily evacuated Italy, 'before I ſet out to Africa, and come to aſk terms 'of peace, I could not have denied your ſuit, with-'out being guilty of haughtineſs and violence: ſo

now

'now, when I have dragged you as it were back- CHAP.
'wards, and exerting your utmoſt efforts of reſiſt- XXXI.
'ance, into Africa, I am under no obligation to make
'any conceſſions to you. In fine, if to the conditions
'firſt agreed upon, ſome new article had been added
'(which you know very well you have ſufficient
'ground for) reparation for our tranſports, and the in-
'ſults offered our ambaſſadors during the truce, it
'would have furniſhed me with matter of reference to
'the Roman ſenate: But ſince theſe ſeem too hard,
'prepare for war, as you cannot endure peace.'
Thus without coming to any concluſion the confe-
rence broke up, and both generals retired to their
camps, to declare the interview had produced no
good effect, and it was neceſſary to have recourſe to
arms and ſubmit to the will of the Gods.

AS ſoon as the generals came into their camps, CHAP.
'they bid their men prepare for battle, and exert XXXII.
'that courage, that was neceſſary in ſo important a
'conteſt, in which whoever proved victorious
'would, not for a day, but for ever remain ſo: be-
'fore the next night it would be determined, whe-
'ther Rome or Carthage ſhould give laws to the
'nations; for not only Africa and Italy, but the
'empire of the world would be the reward of the
'victory: on the contrary, the ſide that ſhould be
'conquered would be as miſerable as the victors
'ſhould be happy.' The Romans had no way to
eſcape as they were in a ſtrange and foreign country;
and the ruin of Carthage ſeemed inevitable if her
army was defeated, as ſhe had muſtered the whole
ſtrength ſhe had remaining. The day following the
two ableſt generals of the two moſt powerful people
of the univerſe, and the two moſt gallant armies in
the world advanced to an action, which was to crown
the glory of their former exploits, or to bury them
in utter oblivion. They were diſtracted between the
paſſions of hope and fear, turning their eyes firſt to
their own army, and then to that of the enemy, eſti-
mating their power and force rather by ſight, than

CHAP. XXXII.

reaſon and judgment, which alternately impreſſed them with joy and fear. Their generals put them in mind of what their own hearts did not ſuggeſt. Hannibal repeated his actions in Italy during ſixteen years, how many Roman generals he had killed, how many armies he had cut to pieces: and as he met with any ſoldiers of note, who had ſignalized themſelves by ſome gallant exploit, he reminded them of it. Scipio related his conqueſt of Spain, the late victories gained in Africa, and appeal'd to the confeſſion of the enemy, who for fear were obliged to ſue for peace, and yet could not maintain it through a perfidiouſneſs natural to them. In fine, he added to this the ſecret conference he had with Hannibal, turning it as he pleaſed to ſuit his purpoſe. Beſides, he ſaid, 'As the Gods had ſhewn them the ſame 'auſpices at marching into the field, under which 'their fore-fathers had fought at the iſlands Ægates, 'he was certain the war and their hardſhips were 'come to a period: that the ſpoils of Carthage were 'a ſure prey, and they upon the point of returning 'home to their country, their parents, wives, chil-'dren, and houſhold Gods.' He delivered himſelf with ſuch an air of dignity in his mien, and chearfulneſs in his countenance, that one would have thought he had already obtained the victory.

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HE drew up his troops in the following order. He poſted the haſtati in the front, the principes in the ſecond line, and the triarii in the third. He did not marſhal his cohorts cloſe together in the front, but at ſome diſtance from each other, ſo as to leave ſufficient ſpace to let the elephants paſs through without breaking the ranks. Lælius, who had ſerved as lieutenant before, but that year as queſtor by ſpecial appointment of the ſenate, and not by lot, was poſted on the left wing at the head of the Italian cavalry, and Maſiniſſa with his Numidian horſe on the right. Scipio filled up the intervals of the front line with light armed troops, ordering them expreſsly, as ſoon as the elephants were in motion, to retire behind

behind the lines, or to the right and left, to make way for the elephants to enter the lanes; where they would be wounded from both ſides. Hannibal, to terrify the enemy, poſted his elephants in the front: they were 80 in number, a greater than ever had been ſeen in any battle. Behind them he placed his mercenaries, conſiſting of Ligurians, Gauls, and ſlingers, mixed with Mauritanians. In the ſecond line he poſted the Carthaginians and Africans with the Macedonian legion: behind which, at a little diſtance, he placed his Italian troops as a corps de reſerve. They were moſtly Bruttians, who had followed by compulſion and neceſſity, rather than choice. He cloſed the two wings with his cavalry, the Carthaginians on the right, and Numidians on the left. Hannibal animated his army by different motives and arguments, as it was compoſed of people differing from each other in their language, cuſtoms, laws, habits and arms, and who had not the ſame intereſt in the war. He promiſed the mercenaries, beſides their pay, great rewards out of the ſpoils of the enemy. He incenſed the enmity naturally inherent in the Gauls againſt the Romans. He flattered the Ligurians with the fertile lands of Italy, inſtead of the wild and barren mountains from which they had been brought. He terrified the Moors and Numidians with the arbitrary government of Maſiniſſa. Thus he flattered the hopes of ſome, and alarmed the fears of others. He repreſented to the Carthaginians, that they were to defend the walls of their city, their houſhold Gods, their parents, trembling wives and children. He aſſured them there was no medium, if defeated they muſt loſe life and liberty, but if they conquered the empire of the univerſe was to be the reward of the victory. While Hannibal was thus buſy in animating the Carthaginians, and the captains of the other troops moſtly by interpreters haranguing their different corps, the Roman trumpets ſounded, and their troops raiſed ſuch terrible ſhouts, that the elephants turned upon the Moors and Numidians,

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CHAP. XXXIII. on the left wing. Maſiniſſa took advantage of their confuſion, and by repulſing the cavalry left that ſide of the enemy's infantry quite expoſed. However ſome of theſe huge animals ruſhed upon the enemy, making a great ſlaughter of the velites, who galled them ſeverely. For retiring to the manipuli, they had made way for theſe beaſts, fearing leſt they ſhould be trod down by them, and let their javelins fly at them from both ſides. The front rank threw their darts at them inceſſantly, till the being ſo ſeverely galled in both flanks, they quitted the battle, and turning upon the Carthaginian horſe on their own right wing, made them give way. Lælius ſeeing the enemy in diſorder increaſed their fright.

CHAP. XXXIV. BOTH flanks being left unguarded by the cavalry, the infantry were not a match for the Romans either in courage or ſtrength. An accident happened, which appears trifling in itſelf, but was of the laſt conſequence in time of the action. The ſhouts and cries of the Romans were uniform, and on that account the more dreadful and terrible: But that of the enemy was diſſonant, as they were compoſed of different nations, whoſe voices differed from each other. The manner of the Romans fighting was ſure and firm on account of the weight of their arms when they preſſed upon the enemy; but the other army ſhewed more agility than ſtrength in their attack. In conſequence upon the firſt charge the Romans made the enemy give ground: then preſſing upon them with their ſhoulders, and boſſes of their bucklers, and having forced them to give way, they advanced a pace for a ſmall ſpace as if none oppoſed them: As ſoon as they perceived the enemy yielding the rear rank puſhed forwards the front, which contributed not a little to make the enemy quit the field. But the enemies ſecond line, which conſiſted of Africans and Carthaginians, were ſo far from ſupporting the firſt when they were puſhed, that on the contrary fearing, leſt the Romans by cutting them to pieces, who made an obſtinate ſtand, ſhould penetrate

netrate to them, they fled like cowards. Where- CHAP. upon the mercenaries ſuddenly retreated, and falling XXXIV. upon their own men, ſome of them retired unto the ſecond line for refuge, and others cut them to pieces, becauſe they would not receive them within their ranks; and good reaſon they had, ſince before they did not ſupport them, and now refuſed them ſhelter. By this time the Carthaginians were forced to fight for ſome time, both againſt the enemy and their own men. However, they would not admit into their ranks theſe frightned and enraged mercenaries, but keeping cloſe to one another, turned them aſide to the wings and into the open plain, not being willing to mingle thoſe who were in a conſternation and covered with wounds, with a body that ſtood firm and was yet untouched. The ground from which the mercenaries had been repulſed was ſo full of dead bodies, that it was in a manner more difficult to paſs it, than to open a way through cloſe ranks of the enemy. Accordingly the haſtati in the front, in purſuing over heaps of dead bodies, arms, and rivulets of blood, as each beſt could, broke their ranks. The principes began likewiſe to fluctuate, ſeeing thoſe before them diſperſed and broken. Scipio perceiving this ordered to ſound a retreat for the haſtati; and carrying the wounded men to the rear, led the principes and triarii to the wings, in order to ſecure the haſtati in the centre. Thus the battle commencing afreſh, they charged their real enemies, who equalled them in arms, experience in war, glory of atchievements, in their biggeſt hopes and greateſt dangers: But the Romans exceded them in number and courage, in regard they had already defeated their cavalry and elephants, routed their firſt line, and were ready to attack their ſecond.

LÆLIUS and Maſiniſſa, having purſued the CHAP. routed cavalry a little way, returned to charge the XXXV. enemy in the rear. This routed them entirely. Many being ſurrounded were cut to pieces in their ranks, and few of thoſe that diſperſed through the plain

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plain escaped the horse which occupied all the parts of it. There died of the Carthaginians and their allies above 20000, and almost the like number were taken prisoners, with 130 ensigns, and 11 elephants. The victors lost about 2000. Hannibal made his escape in the tumult with a few horse to Adrumetum: having performed every thing before, and during the action, that could be expected from an able general: even by the confession of Scipio and all experienced officers, his army could not have been more skillfully drawn up than it was that day. 'He 'had wisely posted his elephants in the front, that 'their random charge and insupportable force might 'break the Roman ranks, in keeping which they 'confided most. He likewise posted the mercenaries before the Carthaginians, that, being a mixture of all nations, who served only for hire, and whose honor was doubtful, they might not have it 'in their power to fly at their pleasure; and at the 'same time check the impetuous ardor of the Romans; nay, if they could be of no other service, 'might fatigue the enemy, and by the slaughter of 'them blunt their weapons. Next them his Carthaginians and Africans, in whom he chiefly confided, 'and who being equal in all other respects, might 'have the advantage of enemies fatigued with fighting, and covered with wounds, by being fresh and 'sound. Last of all he drew up his Italians at a good 'distance in the rear, not knowing whether they were 'friends or enemies.' Having given this last specimen of his bravery and ability, he was sent for from Adrumetum, whither he had fled, to come to Carthage thirty six years after he had quitted it, when a boy. There he declared publickly in the senate, that he was not only conquered in that battle, but that also the war was terminated, and that they had no resource but in peace.

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SCIPIO having immediately made himself master of the enemies camp, after rifling it, returned to his ships with an immense booty. Here a courier brought

brought an account, that P. Lentulus was arrived at Utica with 50 men of war, and 100 tranſports, with all ſorts of proviſions. Upon this he reſolved to put Carthage into the greateſt conſternation, and ſending Lælius to Rome with the news of the victory, he ordered Cn. Octavius to march the legions by land to Carthage. He himſelf having joined Lentulus's fleet lately equipt, with his own old ſhips, ſet ſail from Utica to the port of Carthage. He had ſailed but a ſhort way, when a Carthaginian ſhip adorned with fillets and olive branches met him. Aboard of her were two deputies, chief men of the city, who were ſent by the advice of Hannibal to ſue for peace. When they came up to the ſtern of the admiral's ſhip, they hung out a flag, imploring the favor and clemency of Scipio. He would give them no other anſwer but that they ſhould meet him at Tunis, where he was to encamp. He then took a ſurvey of the ſituation of Carthage, not ſo much for his own information at preſent, as to ſtrike terror into the enemy; for he returned to Utica, having ſent for Octavius to the ſame place. As they marched from thence to Tunis he received intelligence, that Verminas, the ſon of Syphax, had come to the aid of the Carthaginians, with an army conſiſting of more horſe than foot. He immediately detached ſome battalions of foot with all the horſe, and attacking him upon the firſt day of the ſaturnalia defeated him, without much fighting. Towards the end of the action the cavalry formed themſelves into a circle, and ſurrounding the enemy on all ſides, cut to pieces 15000 of them on the ſpot, and took 1200 priſoners, with about 1500 Numidian horſes, and 72 ſtandards. The petty king himſelf made his eſcape with a few of his men during the tumult. Then Scipio encamped at Tunis on the ſame ſpot of ground he had done before. Here 30 Carthaginian ambaſſadors came to Scipio. They were much humbler in their ſubmiſſions than formerly, becauſe their ſituation required it. However he neglected them more

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on

CHAP. XXXVI. on account of their late perfidy. The council of war at firſt, through a juſt reſentment, were inclined to demoliſh Carthage: but on a cooler reflection on the vaſt importance of the enterprize, and the length of time the ſiege of ſo ſtrong and well fortified a city would take up; and Scipio himſelf being afraid, leſt a ſucceſſor ſhould come, and rob him of the glory of terminating a war already finiſhed, in which he had undergone ſo much fatigue and danger, they unanimouſly declared for a peace.

CHAP. XXXVII. THE next day he called for the deputies, and having ſharply reprimanded them for their perfidy, and exhorted them, after ſo many defeats, to confeſs that there were Gods, who avenged the violation of oaths, he then read the conditions he inſiſted on. 'The Carthaginians ſhall live free according to their 'own laws, and retain the towns and territories 'which they had poſſeſſed before the war: The 'Romans ſhall immediately deſiſt from plundering 'them. Carthage ſhall deliver up to the Romans 'all their priſoners fugitives and deſerters; ſurren-'der all her ſhips of war except ten triremes, and 'all her elephants trained for war, and ſhall not 'tame any more for the future: ſhe ſhall enter into 'no war either in Africa, or any where elſe with-'out the conſent of the Romans: reſtore to Ma-'ſiniſſa his dominions, and make an alliance with 'him: ſupply the Romans with corn, and pay 'their auxiliaries till the deputies returned from 'Rome: pay to the Romans in the ſpace of fifty 'years 10000[a] talents of ſilver, at equal payments, 'give Scipio 100 ſuch hoſtages as he ſhall chuſe, 'the youngeſt of whom ſhall not be under fourteen, 'nor the oldeſt above thirty years of age: the truce 'ſhould only take place on condition that the tranſ-'ports, which they had ſurprized during the firſt 'truce, with their cargoes, ſhould be reſtored to the 'Romans. Upon no other terms were they to ex-'pect either a truce or peace.' The ambaſſadors being ordered to ſet out for Carthage with theſe conditions,

[a] 1937500 l.

ditions, they there laid them before an aſſembly of their people. Giſgo ſtood up to diſſuade them from complying, and was applauded by a giddy rabble, incapable of military ſervice. Hannibal, enraged to hear ſuch a ſpeech, and ſee it liſtened to with approbation at this juncture, took Giſgo by the hand and pulled him down from the tribune. Such ſtrange procedure in a free city occaſioned an univerſal murmur. Hannibal, accuſtomed to uncontrol'd command, was vexed to ſee the liberties the citizens took, and made them this apology, 'I left this city when 'but nine years of age, and returned to it thirty ſix 'years after. I have learned tolerably the art of 'war, both in a publick and private capacity from 'my infancy. It is your buſineſs to teach me the 'laws, cuſtoms, and civilities which ought to be ob-'ſerved in your city and aſſemblies.' Having thus apologized for his raſhneſs, he urged in the ſtrongeſt terms the neceſſity of concluding a peace, though the conditions of it were hard. What embarraſſed them moſt, was the reſtitution of the ſhips, which they had taken during the truce: the ſhips they had, but it was hard to find out the cargoes, as they were ſaid to be in the poſſeſſion of ſuch as oppoſed the peace with the greateſt obſtinacy. They reſolved to reſtore the ſhips, and make diligent ſearch of every perſon for their cargoes. 'As to what could not 'be recovered, they would leave Scipio to put a va-'lue on them, and they would pay it in money.' Some authors ſay that Hannibal, after the battle, fled to the ſea, where he embarked on a veſſel ready prepared and immediately went to Antiochus, and that Scipio inſiſted, before he would grant them any thing, 'they ſhould deliver up Hannibal;' but was anſwered, 'he was not in Africa.'

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AFTER the ambaſſadors returned to Scipio, the queſtors were ordered to draw out an account of the effects on board theſe ſhips, which belonged to the commonwealth, and private men of what belonged to them. The Carthaginians pay'd down for

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the whole 25000 pound weight of ſilver, whereupon a truce was granted them for three months. To the articles above-mentioned this was added, 'that 'during the truce they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors 'to no ſtate but the Roman, and if any ſhould come 'to Carthage, they were not to ſend them away, 'till they informed the Roman general of the buſi-'neſs they came about, and from what powers they 'were ſent.' Scipio ſent L. Veturius Philo, M. Ralla, and L. Scipio his brother to Rome with the Carthaginian deputies. After this the proviſions that were ſent from Sardinia and Sicily, occaſioned ſuch plenty that the merchants left the corn to the captains of the ſhips for their freight. The firſt news of the infraction of the truce by the Carthaginians, occaſioned ſome conſternation at Rome, and T. Claudius was ordered to ſet out for Sicily with the fleet and thence to Africa, and M. Servilius, the other conſul, to ſtay in the city till he was informed of the ſituation of affairs in Africa. Claudius was very ſlow in equipping and putting to ſea with the fleet; becauſe the ſenators had left Scipio at liberty to conclude a peace on what terms he pleaſed, and had not left it to the conſuls. Upon the report of the breaking up of the negotiation, Rome was alarmed with accounts of many prodigies at Cumæ, the diſc of the ſun appeared leſs than ordinary, and it had rained ſtones. At Velitræ the ground had faln in, and trees were ſwallowed up in the hiatus. At Aricia the forum and places round the public ſhops were ſtruck with lightning, and at Fruſino a wall and a gate met with the ſame fate. It had rained ſtones on the Palatine hill. The latter prodigy was expiated by the ſacrifices for nine days, according to ancient cuſtom; but the reſt were by the greater ſacrifices. Beſides an uncommon inundation was looked upon as ominous: the Tiber had overflowed the circus, ſo that the games in honor of Apollo were celebrated without the Colline gate, near the temple of Venus Erycina. But in the very time of the

the games, the weather became ſo ſerene as they began their proceſſion to the Colline gate, that they returned to the circus, being informed that it was dry. It occaſioned great joy among the people, to find the ordinary place for the performing the games reſtored.

THE conſul Claudius, having at laſt quitted the city, was overtaken by a ſtorm between the ports of Coſa and Laurentum, which put him in great fear. He put in at Populonia [a], and ſtay'd there till the tempeſt was over. Then he proceded to the iſland of Ilva [b], thence to Corſica, and from Corſica to Sardinia. As he was doubling the mountains called Inſani [c], a much more violent ſtorm aroſe, and it being a dangerous coaſt, greatly damaged his fleet; many of the ſhips were ſhattered and loſt their rigging, others were daſhed to pieces. Thoſe that eſcaped put in at Carales in a moſt miſerable plight, where the winter ſurprized him while he was refitting them. The time of his magiſtracy elapſing, and not being continued in any command he returned in a private capacity to Rome with his fleet. M. Servilius nominated C. Servilius Geminus dictator, to preſide at the elections, and immediately ſet out to his province. The dictator choſe P. Ælius Pætus general of horſe. The elections were often interrupted by the inclemency of the weather. Accordingly when the old magiſtrates had quitted their office on the 15th of March, and no new ones were created in their room, the republick wanted curule ædiles. L. Manlius Torquatus one of the pontifices died this year, C. Sulpicius Galba ſucceded him. L. Licinius Lucullus, and Q. Fulvius the curule ædiles celebrated the Roman games three times over. It being diſcovered that the clerks and runners in the ædiles office had ſtoln money out of the treaſury, they were tried and convicted. The ædile Lucullus was ſaid to

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C. Servilius Geminus, dictator.

P. Ælius Pætus, general of horſe.

[a] *Populonia*, near *Piombino*, in *Tuſcany*. [b] Now *Elba*. [c] They run through the middle of *Sardinia*, and were called *inſani*, from their being impaſſable.

be concerned in it. P. Ælius Tubero, and L. Lætorius being created ædiles of the commons, on account of an informality in their election, were obliged to lay down their office after they had celebrated the games, on account of a feſtival in honor of Jupiter; and erected in the capitol three ſtatues made of the ſilver taken for fines. The dictator and general of horſe, by a decree of the ſenate, renewed the games in honor of Ceres.

CHAP. XL. WHEN the Roman deputies, which were ſent from Africa with thoſe of the Carthaginians, arrived at Rome, the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of Bellona. Here Lucius Veturius Philo informed them, to the great joy of the conſcript fathers, that they had fought the laſt battle with Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and that the war which occaſioned ſo many calamities was at laſt terminated. He added that Verminas, ſon of Syphax, was totally defeated, which was ſome addition to their other exploits. He was then ordered to repair to the forum, and impart this agreeable news to the people. Having congratulated each other upon the ſucceſs, they diſperſed into all the temples to thank the Gods, and a decree paſſed, for publick thankſgivings to continue three days. The Carthaginian ambaſſadors, and thoſe of king Philip, who had alſo come to Rome, demanded an audience of the ſenate. The dictator anſwered them, that the new conſuls would grant it them. Then the aſſembly for electing of magiſtrates was held, and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, with P. Ælius Petus, was choſen conſul. M. Junius Pennus, who had the charge of the city given him by lot, M. Valerius Falto, who had Bruttium, M. Fab. Buteo, who had Sardinia, and P. Ælius Tubero, who had Sicily, were choſen prætors. The provinces of the conſuls were not to be fixed, till the deputies of the Carthaginians and thoſe of king Philip ſhould have their audience. They foreſaw that as one war was terminated, another was likely to break out. The conſul Lentulus was mighty ambitious to have the province of Africa: if the war continued he would get

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Ælius Pætus, conſuls, Y. of R. 551. B. J. C. 201.

get an eaſy victory, and if a peace ſhould be concluded, it would contribute to his glory that ſuch an important war was terminated during his conſulſhip. Accordingly he ordered that no affair ſhould come upon the carpet till Africa ſhould be aſſigned for his province. His collegue, being a man of reaſon and moderation, did not aſpire to it in the leaſt; beſides he conceived it no leſs vain than unjuſt, to rob Scipio of that honor. The tribunes of the people Q. Minucius Thermus, and M. Acilius Glabrio, obſerved, 'that Cn. Cornelius was attempting that, which Tib. 'Claudius had preſſed the year before: The ſenate 'had referred to the people, to confer the command 'in Africa on whom they pleaſed, and all the thirty 'five tribes unanimouſly declared for Scipio.' The matter being debated for a long time both before the ſenate and people, it was at length referred entirely to the ſenate. The conſcript fathers, being ſworn, as had been agreed, decreed, 'That the conſuls 'ſhould agree between themſelves or caſt lots for 'their provinces, who ſhould have Italy, or who 'ſhould ſail with the fleet for Sicily. If a peace 'could not be concluded with the Carthaginians, the 'latter might paſs into Africa. The conſul was to 'command in chief at ſea, and Scipio was to have 'abſolute command at land as before. If the arti-'cles of peace were agreed to, it was to be referred 'to the people by their tribunes, whether the conſul 'or Scipio ſhould grant them peace, and nominate a 'general to lead back the victorious army from A-'frica. If they ſhould determine that Scipio ſhould 'make the peace, and lead back the army into Ita-'ly, the conſul ſhould not quit Sicily to go to Afri-'ca. The other conſul, who had Italy for his pro-'vince, ſhould receive the command of the two le-'gions from M. Sextius the prætor.'

CHAP. XL.

P. SCIPIO was continued at the head of the army in Africa. The two legions in Bruttium were given to the prætor M. Valerius, which C. Livius had the command of the year before. P. Ælius the

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prætor was to have the two legions in Sicily, lately commanded by Cn. Tremellius. To M. Fabius was decreed the legion which the pro-prætor P. Lentulus commanded in Sardinia. M. Servilius, who had been conſul the preceding year, was continued in commiſſion with his two legions in Hetruria. As to Spain, ſince Lentulus and Acidinus had governed there for ſome years, it was decreed, 'That the conſuls 'ſhould deſire the tribunes to move the people to 'appoint a general for Spain. Whoever ſhould be 'ſo commiſſioned ſhould draught a legion out of the 'two armies, and 15 cohorts out of the Latin allies, 'with which he was to defend the province. L. 'Cornelius and L. Manlius ſhould lead back the 'Veteran troops into Italy. The conſul Cornelius 'ſhould have a fleet of 50 ſhips given him out of the 'two fleets, the one commanded by Octavius in A-'frica, and the other by P. Villius, who guarded the 'coaſt of Sicily, and to pick and chuſe the beſt of 'them he could. That P. Scipio ſhould continue 'in command of the 50 ſhips of war he then had, 'and if he thought proper Cn. Octavius ſhould be 'admiral, he was to have his commiſſion renewed 'for that year. If he ſhould nominate Lælius, 'Octavius was then to return to Rome, and bring 'back the ſhips which the pro-conſul would make 'no uſe of.' Fabius was ordered to ſet out for Sardinia with ten men of war. The conſuls were ordered to raiſe two legions for the city, and the force of the republick conſiſted of 14 legions, and 100 men of war.

CHAP. XLII.

THEN the Carthaginian ambaſſadors and thoſe of Philip were called. Thoſe of Macedon had the firſt audience. Their diſcourſe conſiſted of different parts. They began with apologizing for their maſter, in regard to the plundering the lands of the Roman allies, which the ambaſſadors ſent from Rome to that prince had complained of; and next they complained of the allies of the Romans, but more eſpecially of M. Aurelius, one of the three ambaſſadors that had

been

been ſent to him; that he had made war againſt him contrary to the treaty of alliance, and that he had actually fought ſeveral battles with his lieutenants; and laſtly they demanded that Sopater the general, and other Macedonians, who had ſerved in Hannibal's army, and were kept priſoners in chains, ſhould be reſtored to them. M. Furius, who was purpoſely ſent from Macedonia by Aurelius to defend him, anſwered theſe accuſations in the following manner, 'Aurelius had been left in the country, leſt the allies of the Roman people, continually haraſſed with ravages and other acts of hoſtility, ſhould go over to Philip. He had never quitted the lands of the allies, and endeavored to prevent the king's troops from making inroads into them with impunity. Sopater, one of Philip's courtiers, had been ſent to Africa with 4000 men and money to aid Hannibal and the Carthaginians.' The Macedonians, being aſked what they had to reply to this, were extremely confuſed. The ſenate declared, 'That the king was courting war, and if he continued to take theſe meaſures, he ſhould find what he ſought. He had twice violated the treaty, firſt in diſtreſſing the allies, and haraſſing them with war and arms, and next by ſending aid of men and money to the enemy. P. Scipio had done his duty in making priſoners and laying in irons thoſe who were actually in arms againſt the commonwealth. That the conduct of Aurelius was agreeable to the ſtate, in aſſiſting the allies of the Romans with arms when the enemy paid no regard to the obligation of treaties'. The Macedonian ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with this menacing anſwer. Then the Carthaginian deputies were introduced. When they conſidered their advanced age, and dignity, for they were all men of the firſt rank in their country, then every one concluded, that Carthage was now ſincere in her application for peace. Aſdrubal (ſurnamed Hædus) was the chief of them. As he had always adviſed a peace, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed

CHAP. XLII.

ſhips of war, elephants, the Roman fugitive ſlaves and deſerters, with 4000 priſoners, amongſt whom was a ſenator, named Q. Terentius Culeo. Scipio ordered the ſhips to be carried out to ſea and burnt. Some tell us they were 500 in number, including all kinds that were rowed with oars. This ſpectacle was as mournful to the Carthaginians as if the city itſelf had been in flames. The deſerters were puniſhed more ſeverely than the ſlaves. The Latins were beheaded, and the Romans crucified.

CHAP. XLIV. FORTY years had elapſed, ſince the laſt peace had been made with the Carthaginians, during the conſulſhip of Q. Lutatius, and A. Manlius [a]. The war had broke out again, twenty three years after, in that of P. Cornelius and Tib. Sempronius [b]. It was ended the ſeventeenth year, when C. Cornelius and P. Ælius Pætus were conſuls. The tradition is, that Scipio afterwards ſaid, 'it was owing to the ambition, firſt of T. Claudius, and next of Cn. Cornelius, that this war was not terminated with the demolition of Carthage.' The Carthaginian funds being exhauſted by the long wars, they found it difficult to pay the tribute impoſed on them, which was matter of grief to the ſenate, and they could not reſtrain their tears; but Hannibal fell into laughter. Aſdrubal Hædus reprimanded him, 'for thus inſulting the miſeries which he himſelf had brought upon their ſtate.' To this Hannibal anſwered, 'Could my heart be ſeen, and it's ſentiments diſcovered as clearly as my countenance, it would eaſily appear, that the ſneer with which I am reproached, far from being the effect of mirth, procedes from a mind almoſt diſtempered with ſorrow. After all it is not ſo unſeaſonable and abſurd as your tears? Then you ought to have wept, when your arms were taken from you, your ſhips burnt, and all foreign wars prohibited you. That was the mortal blow by which we fell. Do not flatter yourſelves, that the Romans have conſulted your quiet. No

[a] See vol. III. p. 415. [b] Vol. IV.

'great

'great city can long enjoy peace; if it has not war abroad, it will find enemies at home. Strong bodies are safe from all outward danger, yet their own ſtrength is a burden to them. We are touched with the public calamities only ſo far as they affect our private fortunes, and we chiefly regret the loſs of our money. When conquered Carthage was ſtripped of her riches, diſarmed and left defenceleſs amidſt ſo many armed nations of Africa, none ſo much as uttered a ſigh. But now when you are to pay the tribute out of your own private purſes, one would conclude from your lamentations that your ſtate was going to it's burial. I am afraid you will ſoon find, your tears have been ſhed for the leaſt of your calamities.' Hannibal ſpoke thus to the Carthaginians. Scipio, having called a council of war, reſtored Maſiniſſa to his paternal kingdom, and beſides gave him, in a preſent, the city of Cyrta, with the other towns and territories belonging to Syphax, which were now in the power of the Romans. He ordered Cn. Octavius to carry the fleet to Sicily and deliver it up to Cn. Cornelius the conſul. He then ſent orders to the Carthaginians to diſpatch new deputies to Rome, to have the treaty ratified by the ſenate and people, which he had lately made with them in concert with the ten commiſſioners.

CHAP. XLIV.

SCIPIO, having made peace both by ſea and land, embarked his troops, and ſailed to Lilybæum in Sicily. From thence, after embarking the greateſt part of his army, he croſſed over to Italy, which was as much tranſported with joy at the peace, as for the victory he had gained. Not only the inhabitants of cities and towns came in crowds to pay him their reſpects, but the roads were lined with country people till he came to Rome, which he entered with a pomp and magnificence, far exceding former triumphs. He put into the treaſury one hundred twenty three thouſand pound weight of ſilver, and divided about 400 aſſes of braſs apiece amongſt his ſoldiers. King Syphax, by his death, rather deprived

CHAP. XLV.

CHAP. XLV.

the people of an agreeable ſhow, than diminiſhed the glory of the triumph. He died at Tybur not long before, whither he had been carried from Alba. His death was the more remarkable in regard he was buried at the public charge. Polybius, an author of credit, ſays, this king graced the triumph, and was led before Scipio's chariot. Q. Terentius Culeo followed him with the pileus on his head, as the ſymbol of his having obtained his freedom, and during all his life afterwards acknowledged Scipio, as was his duty, to be the author of his liberty. I cannot determine, whether it was through the favor of the ſoldiers, the applauſe of the people, or the flattery of his friends, as Sylla had the title of Felix, and Pompey that of Magnus, that Scipio acquired the ſurname of Africanus. He was certainly the firſt general, who was called after the name of the nation he had conquered. Some time after other Romans rendered their families conſpicuous by the like titles, though not acquired by ſuch glorious victories.

BOOK XXXI.

This book contains the reaſons for renewing the war againſt Philip, king of Macedon, which had been diſcontinued. At the time that the ſecret myſteries of Ceres are celebrating, two young Acarnanians, who are not initiated in them, come to Athens, and go, with other of their countrymen, into the temple of Ceres. For this, as if they had committed the moſt heinous offence, they are put to death by the Athenians. The Acarnanians, incenſed by their death, ſeek ſuccors from Philip to revenge it. A few months after the peace granted the Carthaginians, in the 550th year from the foundation of Rome, when the Athenians aſk aid of the ſenate againſt Philip who inveſted their city, the ſenate reſolve to grant them the ſuccors they demanded, but the people, oppreſſed by ſo many ſucceſſive wars, oppoſe it. However the authority of the fathers prevails, and the people order aids to be ſent to that ſtate then in alliance with them. The management of that war is entruſted to P. Sulpicius the conſul, who carrying an army into Macedonia, defeats Philip in ſeveral actions between the cavalry of both. The inhabitants of Abydos, being inveſted by the Macedonian, after the example of the Saguntines, kill their wives, children and themſelves. L. Furius

the

the prætor defeats the Insubrian Gauls who had rebel'd, and Hamilcar the Carthaginian, who was endeavoring to kindle a war in that country, in a pitched battle, in which the general is killed with 35000 men. Besides it contains the expeditions and sieges made by Philip and the consul Sulpicius. The latter, with the assistance of king Attalus and the Rhodians, prosecutes the war. The prætor Furius triumphs for the Gauls.

CHAP. I.

I FEEL as sensible a joy that I have finished the narrative of the Carthaginian war, as if I had been present in the transactions, and shared in the fatigue and dangers. For though I have boldly undertaken to write the Roman story complete, and therefore ought not be wearied with any single part of that work; yet upon second reflection, when I consider, that I have taken up as many volumes in writing the history of the Punic war, which lasted 63 years, from the commencement of the first down to the end of the second, as I have done in the narrative from the building of the city to the consulate of Appius Claudius, who was the first Roman general that acted against the Carthaginians, and which includes a period of 488 years; methinks I foresee, that like those who entering at first into the shallows near the shore are insensibly trained on into deeper water, that the farther I advance, the deeper I step, and plunge into an unfathomable ocean, and before me my work always increases, which seemed considerably diminished when I had finished the first periods of the history. The second Punic war is no sooner terminated than the Macedonian succedes, nowise indeed comparable to it either in the greatness of the danger, the abilities of the general, or the valor of the troops; but more conspicuous considering the renown of it's ancient kings, the reputation of the people, and the extent of their empire, which had subjected almost all Europe, and Asia. The war against Philip began ten years before, but was discontinued three years after by the Ætolians, who, having been the authors of it, also procured a peace. The Romans, being now disengaged by the peace lately made with the Carthaginians, and incensed against Philip,

Philip, for violating the articles of peace ſettled between him and the Ætolians, and their other allies, and for having ſent aids of men and money to Hannibal in Africa, renewed the war againſt that prince, at the requeſt of the Athenians, whoſe country he ravaged.

CHAP. II.

AT the ſame time king Attalus and the Rhodians ſent ambaſſadors, who repreſented, that he was endeavoring to ſolicite the ſtates of Aſia to join him. They were anſwered, that the ſenate would take care of the affairs of Aſia. All deliberation concerning the Macedonian war was deferred till the return of the conſuls, who were then acting againſt the Boii. Mean time, C. Claudius Nero, M. Æmilius Lepidus and P. Sempronius Tuditanus, were diſpatched to Ptolemy king of Ægypt, with the news that Hannibal and the Carthaginians were defeated, and to thank him, that when their neighboring allies had deſerted them, even in adverſity he had remained their friend; and further to requeſt, that, ſince by repeated hoſtilities they were forced to renew the war againſt Philip, he would continue his attachment to the Roman people. At the ſame time, P. Ælius the conſul, being informed in Gaul, that the Boii had made incurſions upon the territories of the allies before his coming, ſent C. Oppius, a præfect of the allies, with two legions raiſed ſuddenly to quell that inſurrection and reinforced with four cohorts of his own army, through that part of Umbria, called Sappinia[a], to make a deſcent upon the country of the Boii. He himſelf marched thither by an open road, croſs the middle of theſe mountains. Oppius, entering the confines of the enemy ravaged them without moleſtation, and with great ſucceſs at firſt. Then encamping in an advantageous poſt near Mutilus[b], he went out to cut down the ripe corn, but did not reconnoitre the ground ſufficiently, nor poſt guards ſtrong enough to protect the unarmed reapers; ſo that

[a] Between the *Apennines* and the *Adriatic* ſea.

[b] *Medolo*, near the foot of the *Apennines*.

he

he and they were ſurrounded by the Gauls. Then the ſoldiers being ſeized with a panic, fled. 7000 men were killed ſtraggling through the corn fields; and among them was their general Oppius. The reſt ran with precipitation to the camp, and by agreement, being without any leader, left moſt of their effects behind, and marched away to the conſul the following night through almoſt inacceſſible foreſts. Ælius returned to Rome, having done nothing worth relating, except having ravaged the country of the Boii, and made a league with the Ingaunii and Ligurians. CHAP. II.

AS ſoon as he aſſembled the ſenate, they all agreed, that the war with king Philip, and the complaints of the allies ſhould be firſt canvaſſed: accordingly they entered upon them immediately. A full houſe decreed, that Ælius the conſul ſhould ſend any one he pleaſed with commiſſion to take the command of the fleet, which Cn. Octavius had brought from Sicily, and ſail for Macedonia. He ſent M. Valerius Lævinus, who received 38 ſhips from Cn. Octavius near Vibo. M. Aurelius a lieutenant general came to him and informed him, that Philip had ſet on foot a great army and a formidable fleet, and was in perſon, and by deputies, ſoliciting, not only all the cities of the continent, but even the iſlanders to take up arms. He prayed that the Romans would act vigorouſly in that war, leſt Philip taking advantage of their delays, ſhould attempt what Pyrrhus, whoſe dominions were not ſo extenſive, had done before. Upon this Aurelius determined to ſend this information to the conſuls and ſenate. CHAP. III.

IN the end of this year the diviſion of the lands among the veteran troops, who had terminated the war in Africa, under the conduct and auſpices of Scipio, was laid before the houſe. The fathers decreed, that M. Junius, prætor of the city, ſhould appoint what commiſſioners he thought proper to meaſure and divide among them the lands of Samnium and Apulia, which were then part of the public CHAP. IV.

CHAP. IV.

lic property. Accordingly, P. Servilius, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, C. and M. Servilii, who were both ſurnamed Gemini, L. and A. Hoſtilii Cato's, P. Villius Tappulus, M. Fulvius Flaccus, P. Ælius Pætus, and Q. Flaminius, were named. About the ſame time the elections were held by Ælius Pætus, and P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius Cotta were choſen conſuls. Then Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius Purpureo, Q. Fulvius Gillo, and Cn. Sergius Plancus were elected prætors. The Roman games were celebrated that year with the greateſt pomp by Q. Valerius Flaccus, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius; the curule ædiles, and continued for two days. They likewiſe divided among the people a great quantity of corn, which Scipio the pro-conſul had ſent from Africa, with general ſatisfaction and fidelity. The plebeian games were renewed three times by L. Apuſtius Fullo, and Q. Minucius Rufus, ædiles of the commons. Rufus had ſtep'd from the ædileſhip to the prætorſhip. A feſtival in honor of Jupiter was obſerved on account of thoſe games.

CHAP. V.

P. Sulpicius Galba, and C. Aurelius conſuls. Y. of R. 552. B. J. C. 200.

IN the year of the city 550, when P. Sulpicius Galba and C. Aurelius were conſuls, war was declared againſt king Philip, a few months after the peace made with the Carthaginians. The conſul Sulpicius laid that affair firſt before the houſe on the 15th of March, the day he entered into his conſulſhip. The conſcript fathers decreed, that the conſuls ſhould render propitious what Gods they pleaſed by the greater ſacrifices, and offer up the public ſupplications, which the ſenate and people had in view on account of the preſent war, that it might terminate to the advantage of the Romans their allies, and thoſe of the Latin name. After religious affairs were finiſhed, the ſenate were conſulted concerning the provinces. About that time letters came from Lævinus the pro-prætor and his lieutenant M. Aurelius very ſeaſonably, to ſpirit them on in the war; likewiſe deputies from Athens, repreſenting that Philip was approaching their confines,

and

and would infallibly become maſter, not only of their lands but of their city, if the Romans did not come to their aid. When the conſuls reported that the affairs of religion were over, and that the Gods had favorably received their ſupplications, and the prieſts made anſwer that the entrails of the victims portended the enlargement of their dominion, victory and triumph, the letters of Aurelius and Valerius were read, and the Athenian ambaſſadors had an audience. Then the ſenate paſſed a decree, to thank theſe allies, becauſe they had continued firm to their intereſt, though ſolicited and threatned with a ſiege. Their anſwer, with reſpect to ſending them aid, was deferred till the conſuls had caſt lots for the provinces, and that conſul, who ſhould get Macedonia, had moved the people to approve the war againſt Philip king of Macedon. CHAP. V.

THE conſul Sulpicius, to whom the province of Macedonia fell by lot, moved the people to know, 'if it was their will and pleaſure, that war ſhould 'be declared againſt Philip king of Macedon, and 'all his ſubjects, for the hoſtilities he had committed 'upon their allies.' The province of Italy fell to the other conſul Aurelius. Then the prætors had their reſpective provinces aſſigned them by lot. Plancus had the juriſdiction of the city; Gillo, Sicily; Rufus, Bruttium; and Purpureo, Gaul. The bill concerning the Macedonian war was at firſt rejected by almoſt all the centuries. The citizens, wearied of a long and grievous war, had no inclination to renew their toils and dangers. Beſides Q. Bæbius, a tribune of the commons, to ingratiate himſelf with the people, revived the old complaint againſt the ſenators, that they added war to war, and would never allow the people to enjoy peace. The ſenators were highly enraged and reproached the tribune in the ſenate, ſtrenuouſly exhorting the conſul to repair a ſecond time to the people, reprimand them for their backwardneſs, and repreſent to them, how detrimental it would CHAP. VI.

would be to the ſtate, and ſhameful for them, if war was not ſpeedily declared.

CHAP. VII.

THE conſul, calling an aſſembly in the field of Mars, before the centuries proceded to vote, addreſſed them as follows. 'You ſeem, Romans, to 'miſtake the queſtion: I did not aſk you whether 'we were to make war or peace, (for Philip has 'prevented you in that by the preparations he has 'made both by ſea and land) but whether you'll 'tranſport your army into Macedonia, or permit 'thoſe of Philip to invade Italy. You have cer-'tainly been made ſenſible of the difference betwixt 'the two, by the late Punic war, if not by former 'invaſions. Who can doubt if we had ſeaſonably 'aided the beſieged Saguntines, when they implor-'ed our protection, as our forefathers did the Ma-'mertines, but we had turned the weight of the war 'upon Spain, which our delays brought into Italy, 'and had almoſt ended in our total ruin? It is evi-'dent, that, when Philip had promiſed both by de-'puties, and private letters to invade Italy and aſſiſt 'Hannibal, Lælius, whom we ſent with a fleet 'to attack him at home, ſtopt his intended expedi-'tion. What we did when Hannibal was in the 'heart of Italy, ſhall we now heſitate to do, when 'he is driven out, and the Carthaginians totally van-'quiſhed? Shall we give Philip, by ſuffering him 'to make himſelf maſter of Athens, as Hannibal 'did Saguntum, an evident proof of our ſlowneſs? 'He will not be five months, as Hannibal was, after 'the taking of Saguntum, but will arrive in Italy with-'in five days, after he looſes from Corinth. Though 'you cannot compare Philip with Hannibal, or the 'Macedonians with the Carthaginians, yet you may 'equal him with Pyrrhus; ſo far as one man excels 'another, and one nation the other. Epirus was 'always but a very ſmall acceſſion of ſtrength to the 'kingdom of Macedon, and is ſo even at this day. 'Philip has all the Peloponneſus under his ſubjection, 'and Argos, which is as much celebrated for it's

'ancient reputation as for the death of Pyrrhus. CHAP. VII.
'Suffer me next to lay before you our own ſituation.
'Though Italy never was in a more floriſhing con-
'dition, or it's ſtrength more entire, both in reſpect
'of able generals, and powerful armies, which per-
'iſhed afterwards in the Carthaginian war, yet Pyr-
'rhus ſhaked our ſolid frame, and advanced almoſt
'to the gates of Rome. Nor did the Tarentines
'only, and all the coaſt of Italy, which they call
'Græcia Major, join this hero, who was of the ſame
'language and name, but even the Lucanians, Sam-
'nites and Bruttians deſerted us. Do you think, that
'thoſe people will remain quiet, or adhere to us, if
'Philip invade Italy? They continued, forſooth, in
'their allegiance during the Punic war. Theſe na-
'tions will ever revolt as long as they have any per-
'ſon to revolt to. Had you oppoſed ſending your
'troops into Africa, Hannibal and his Carthagini-
'ans had been till this day in the heart of Italy. Let
'Macedonia rather than Italy now be the ſeat of the
'war. Let our enemy's country and towns be ra-
'vaged with fire and ſword. We have already had
'happy experience, that our arms are more ſucceſs-
'ful abroad than at home. Give your ſuffrages then
'with the aſſiſtance of the Gods, and approve the
'project of the fathers. I, your conſul, am not ſin-
'gle in giving you this advice; for when I conſult-
'ed the immortal Gods by the aruſpices and ſacri-
'fices, they prognoſticated that this war would
'prove ſucceſsful to me, the ſenate, you, our allies,
'and the Latin name, to our navies and armies.'

WHEN the conſul had ended his ſpeech, the CHAP. VIII.
people by their ſuffrages approved the war. Agree-
able to an act of ſenate, ſupplications were appointed
by the conſuls for three days, to implore the aſſiſt-
ance of all the Gods, in the war they had undertaken
againſt Philip. Sulpicius conſulted the feciales, whe-
ther they ſhould intimate it to Philip by word of
mouth, or only to his neareſt frontier gariſon. They
anſwered it was a matter of indifference which was
done,

CHAP. VIII.

done, for both were regular. The ſenate left the choice of the perſon who was to notify the war to the king, to the conſul: he was not to be a ſenator. Then the armies of the conſuls and prætors were regulated. The conſuls had orders to raiſe two legions, and diſband the old. Sulpicius, who had the charge of this new and formidable war, was permitted to carry with him, out of the army Scipio brought from Africa, as many volunteers as he could, but not to take any of theſe veterans againſt their wills. The conſul was to give the prætors Purpureo and Rufus 5000 of the Latin allies, with which the one was to defend Gaul, and the other Bruttium. Gillo and himſelf were ordered to chuſe out of that army, lately commanded by P. Ælius the conſul, ſuch as had ſerved feweſt campaigns, till they ſhould complete 5000 Latin allies to guard Sicily. Falto, who the former year had the government of Campania was continued in commiſſion, to go to Sardinia, in quality of pro-prætor, and to draught out of the army, which was there, 5000 of the Latin allies, who had ſerved the ſhorteſt time. The conſuls were to raiſe two legions to gariſon the city, and which were to be ſent wherever need required, in regard many nations in Italy in alliance with the Carthaginians during the war, were ſtill exaſperated againſt the Romans. The force of the commonwealth was to conſiſt this year of ſix legions.

CHAP. IX.

DURING theſe preparations for the war, ambaſſadors came from Ptolemy, to inform the ſenate, 'that the Athenians had ſent to demand aid of their 'maſter againſt Philip; but though they were their 'common allies, he would neither ſend fleet nor 'army into Greece, to attack or defend any power, 'without conſent of the Roman people. He would 'either remain quiet in his kingdom, if the Ro'mans thought fit to aſſiſt their allies, or if they had 'a mind to enjoy ſome reſpite, he with their permiſ'ſion, would ſend aid to the allies againſt Philip, 'which he could eaſily do.' Ptolemy had the thanks

of

of the ſenate given him, and was anſwered, 'that the 'Romans were reſolved to defend their allies. If 'his ſervice was needed in the war, they would ac- 'quaint him; for they knew his fidelity and firm at- 'tachment to the republic would always make his 'kingdom and forces a ſure and ready reſource.' The ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed with preſents of 500000 aſſes of braſs to each by order of the ſenate. When the conſuls had made the levies, and all ſuitable preparations for the war, the ſtate, which was more particularly devout at the commencement of new wars, after the ſupplications and ſacrifices were offered in all the temples, that no neceſſary act of religion might be omitted, ordered the conſul who had Macedonia for his province, to celebrate games in honor of Jupiter and offer him preſents. Licinius the pontifex maximus ſtopped the public vow, inſiſting it was irregular to vow an indeterminate ſum. 'For whereas that money could not be uſed in the 'war, it ought to be laid by itſelf; otherwiſe the 'vow could not be regularly diſcharged.' However, though the objection itſelf, and the authority of him that made it had great weight, the conſul was referred to the college of pontifs, to know whether he could make a vow of an uncertain ſum. The college declared he could, and it was the fitteſt way. The conſul made the vow in the form of words dictated by the pontifex maximus, the ſame that was commonly uſed in making the quinquennial vows; only that he vowed to celebrate the games, and make a preſent of ſuch a ſum, as the ſenate ſhould appoint when the vow ſhould come to be diſcharged. This was the firſt time the ſum for the celebration of the great games was left undetermined at the making the vow, whereas formerly it had always been expreſsly named at that time.

CHAP. IX.

WHILE every body was intent upon the Macedonian war, news, which they did not expect, was brought them, that the Gauls had made an inſurrection. The Inſubrians, Cenomani, and Boii, together

CHAP. X.

CHAP. X.

gether with the Statielli [a] and Iriates [b], and other ſtates of Liguria, had taken up arms at the inſtigation of Hamilcar general of the Carthaginians, who having ſtay'd with the remains of Aſdrubal's army in thoſe parts, had ſurprized Placentia, ravaged the city, and through rage almoſt burnt it to the ground, ſcarce 2000 men eſcaping from the flames and ruins, and paſſing the Po, marched to ravage Cremona. The other colony, after the news of the fate of this adjacent city, had time to ſhut their gates, and poſt guards upon the walls; ſo that they muſt neceſſarily be beſieged before they could be taken by ſtorm. In this ſituation they diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Roman prætor. L. Furius Purpureo was then governor of the province, and had agreeable to the ſenate's decree diſbanded all his army except 5000 allies and Latins. With theſe troops he had continued in the country adjacent to Ariminum. He wrote to inform the ſenate of the inſurrection in his province: 'That of the two colonies that had 'eſcaped the great tempeſt of the Carthaginian 'war, the one was taken and plundered, and the 'other beſieged: his army was not ſtrong enough 'to relieve the colonies in their diſtreſs, unleſs he 'would give up 5000 allies to be butchered by '40000 enemies already fluſhed with the maſſacre of the Roman colony, and whoſe courage would 'be augmented by his defeat, ſhould he engage 'them.

CHAP. XI.

WHEN theſe letters were read, the ſenate ordered the conſul C. Aurelius to appoint the army whoſe rendezvous he had fixed againſt a certain day in Hetruria, to aſſemble on the ſame day at Ariminum, and either go in perſon to quell the inſurrection of the Gauls, if the affairs of the commonwealth would permit, or write to L. Furius the prætor, as ſoon as the legions arrived from Hetruria, to ſend 5000 of the allies in their room to guard Hetruria

[a] Inhabited the preſent *Acqui* in the duchy of *Montferrat*. [b] *Voghia* in the duchy of *Milan*.

an

and march in person with the army to the relief of the colony. They determined likewise to send deputies to Africa, to Carthage, and then to Numidia to Masinissa, to acquaint them 'that Hamilcar their 'countryman, who was left in Gaul, had renewed 'the war contrary to the treaty, either with the remains of Asdrubal's or Hanno's army, but which 'they did not know. He had excited the Gauls 'and Ligurians to take up arms against the Romans. 'If they were pleased with the peace, they should 'recal and deliver him up to the Romans.' They were also to inform them, 'that the deserters were 'not all restored. Great numbers of them appeared 'openly at Carthage. These they ought to enquire after and seize, that they might be restored according 'to stipulation.' They were further commanded to congratulate Masinissa, 'not only upon his restoration to his father's kingdom, but upon the addition 'of the most flourishing part of Syphax's dominions.' They were likewise ordered to tell him, 'they had 'declared war against Philip, because he aided the 'Carthaginians, and committed hostilities upon the 'Roman allies, and had obliged them to send an 'army and fleet into Greece, in the heat of the Carthaginian war in Italy, and to divide their troops, 'which was the principal cause of their being so 'long in going over to Africa. They demanded of 'him, to send some Numidian cavalry to their aid 'in this war.' They gave the king large presents in silver and gold plate, a purple robe, and a tunick embroidered with palm branches, an ivory scepter, a toga prætexta, and a curule chair, and were ordered to promise him, if he judged any thing else necessary either for establishing him in his kingdom or augmenting his territory, they would contribute all they could on account of his merit. At the same time the ambassadors of Verminas were admitted, who excused the rashness and youth of their prince, laying the whole blame on the perfidy of the Carthaginians. As Masinissa, said they, from an ene-

CHAP. XI.

CHAP. XI.

'my had become an ally to the Romans, ſo Ver-
'minas would endeavor that neither Maſiniſſa or
'any other ſhould outdo him in ſerving the repub-
'lic: he deſired to be ſtyled king, and called friend
'and ally by them.' The deputies were anſwered,
'that his father Syphax had of an ally become an
'enemy, without any juſt cauſe; and he himſelf had
'been trained up to fight againſt them. Therefore
'he behoved to deſire peace, before he could be
'ſtyled king, or called friend and ally. The Ro-
'mans conferred that title only on ſuch princes, as
'had deſerved well at their hands. There would
'ſoon be Roman deputies in Africa, whom the ſe-
'nate would order to draw up the articles of peace
'to be granted him, and to whom they would give
'full power to decide in it as they ſaw meet. If any
'additions or retrenchments were to be made, he
'might again apply to the ſenate.' The ambaſſa-
dors ſent upon this buſineſs were C. Terentius Var-
ro, P. Lucretius, Cn. Octavius, and each had a quin-
quereme aſſigned him.

CHAP. XII.

AFTERWARDS a letter of Q. Minucius the pro-prætor of Bruttium was read, giving an account, that the money had been ſecretly ſtol'n out of Proſerpine's temple at Locris, and they could not find out the guilty perſons. The ſenate was greatly enraged that there was no end of ſuch ſacrilege, and that the late guilt and puniſhment of Pleminius could not deter people. C. Aurelius the conſul wrote to the prætor in Bruttium, that it was the will of the ſenate, enquiry ſhould be made after this theft in the ſame manner M. Sempronius had done three years before: what of the money was found ſhould be replaced in the temple; and what was wanting ſupplied; that expiatory ſacrifices ſhould be offered, as the pontifs ſhould direct, to atone for the ſacrilege. Many prodigies were ſaid to have happened at this time: in Lucania the heavens were all on fire: at Privernum the ſun was red all day long, though perfectly clear: a great noiſe

was

was heard in the night in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium: many animals had brought forth monſtrous births: at Sabinæ an hermaphrodite was born, and another of the ſame kind about ſixteen years of age was found: at Fruſino a lamb with a ſwine's head, at Sinueſſa a hog with a man's face were ſeen, in Lucania a foal with five feet. All theſe were ugly and deformed, and looked upon as defects in the workings of nature. The hermaphrodites were moſt deteſtable and were immediately thrown into the ſea, as like monſters had been when C. Claudius and M. Livius were conſuls. However the decemvers conſulted their books concerning theſe prodigies, and ordered the ceremonies uſed before in the ſame caſe to be repeated. Thirteen virgins were to go in proceſſion through the city ſinging hymns, and a preſent to be made to Juno in her temple: C. Aurelius took care to have all this performed agreeable to the advice of the decemvirs. As Livius had, in the memory of our fathers, compoſed the hymn, ſo P. Licinius Tegula did the ſame at this time. CHAP. XII.

ALL theſe prodigies being expiated, and the Gods appeaſed, for by this time Minucius had made inquiry into the ſacrilege at Locri, and replaced the treaſure out of the effects of the guilty, a great number of private men to whom the third payment of the money they had lent the commonwealth ten years ago, when M. Valerius and M. Claudius were conſuls, became due that year, applied to the ſenate. The ſenate anſwered, that there was not money ſufficient in the treaſury to diſcharge that debt, becauſe the conſuls had been at great expence in ſetting on foot great armies and equipping a fleet for the new war. The ſenate however could not ſtop their complaints. 'If the commonwealth, ſaid they, ſhould lay out the 'money in the Macedonian war which they lent for 'the Carthaginian, and new wars be continually 'breaking out, it would be confiſcating the ſums 'they had lent out of favor, as if they had been 'condemned for ſome enormous crime.' The ſe- CHAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIII. nate, finding these remonstrances just, and yet the public not in a condition to pay these debts, found out a wise expedient. 'Whereas, many of 'the creditors have observed, that the lands are 'commonly sold, and that they want to purchase, 'we surrender to them lands belonging to the pub- 'lic within 50 miles of Rome. The consuls shall va- 'lue them, and lay the yearly rent of a single as up- 'on each acre, as an acknowledgment they hold of 'the public. When the state shall be able to dis- 'charge those debts, it shall be left to the option 'of the creditors, either to receive their money or 'keep the lands in possession.' They accepted these conditions with joy. That land was called Trientius Tabulius, because given for a third part of the money entered in the public registers.

CHAP. XIV. AT length the consul Sulpicius, after the usual vows in the capitol, set out from Rome in the paludamentum attended by the lictors. He came to Brundisium, and having formed the volunteers of veteran army, which had been in Africa, into legions and draughted his ships from the fleet of the consul Cornelius, the day after set sail from Brundisium, for Macedonia. There were waiting for him the Athenian deputies, conjuring him to march and raise the siege of their city. He immediately detached C. Claudius Centho with twenty ships of war, and an army. The king was not in person before Athens. For at that time he was principally engaged at Abydos, and had fought first with the Rhodian fleet, and then with Attalus's, but was worsted by both. But besides his natural fierceness, his league with Antiochus king of Syria, and the division agreed on betwixt them of the wealth of Ægypt, for which they were both gaping, upon a report of the death of Ptolemy, augmented his haughtiness. The Athenians had drawn the war with Philip upon them, by an action unworthy of them, and retained nothing of their former good fortune but their courage. Two young Acarnanians had unadvisedly entered the

temple

temple of Ceres, without being initiated in the my- CHAP.
steries with the reſt of the crowd on the celebration XIV.
of her feſtival. Their ſpeech ſoon betrayed them, aſking ſome abſurd queſtions. Accordingly they were carried before the prieſts of the temple, and though it evidently appeared they had come in thro' a miſtake, yet they were put to death, as if they had committed a capital crime. The Arcananians complained of this barbarous and hoſtile action to Philip, who allowed them, not only to declare war againſt the Athenians, but likewiſe furniſhed them with aids. This army having ravaged Athens with fire and ſword, returned to Arcanania with great plunder. Theſe were the firſt effects of their reſentment; but afterwards they declared war in form, by a decree of the ſtate. For when king Attalus and the Rhodians purſued Philip, who retreated before them into Macedonia, arrived at Æginas, the former croſſed over to Pyreæus, to renew and ratify an alliance with the Athenians. All the city with their wives and children, alſo the prieſts in their pontificals, and even the ſtatues of their Gods, as it were, moving from their pedeſtals, came out to welcome him.

AN aſſembly of the people was immediately call- CHAP.
ed, that the king might inform them of his inten- XV.
tions. But it was thought more ſuitable to his dignity to give in writing what he had to ſay, than repeat the ſervices he had done that commonwealth in perſon, and hear their applauſes upon the recital, as he certainly would bluſh at their groſs flattery. Accordingly the letter was read, which contained an account firſt of the ſervices he had done that city in alliance with him, and next his actions againſt Philip, and laſtly a pathetic addreſs to engage heartily in the war while they had him, the Rhodians, and the Romans for their allies. Such an opportunity ſhould not be let ſlip, and if it was they would in vain regret it afterwards. Then the deputies of Rhodes were admitted, who repreſented they had lately recovered four Athenian ſhips of

CHAP. XV.

war taken by the Macedonians, and ſent them back to Athens, whereupon the war was unanimouſly agreed upon againſt Philip. King Attalus and the Rhodians had the higheſt honors conferred on them. Then a motion was made, that a tribe called Attalis ſhould be added to the ten old ones. The Rhodians were preſented with a crown of gold, and the freedom of the city for their bravery. The Rhodians had formerly made the Athenians the ſame compliment. After this king Attalus repaired to Ægina to his fleet. The Rhodians quitting Ægina ſailed to Cia[a], then coaſted along the iſlands[b] to Rhodes, having taken all of them into their alliance, except Andros[c], Paros[d], and Cythnus[e], which were gariſoned with Macedonian troops. When Attalus was at Ægina he ſent ambaſſadors into Ætolia, and continued there long unactive waiting their return. But he could not prevail upon them to take up arms, being ſatisfied with the peace they had any how concluded with Philip. Had he and the Rhodians cloſely purſued Philip at that time, they might have gained the glorious title of the deliverers of Greece; but by allowing him again to croſs the Helleſpont, and by ſeizing the moſt advantageous poſts in Greece, to gather together a more powerful army, they fomented the war, and let the Romans carry off the glory of having proſecuted and terminated it.

CHAP. XVI.

BUT Philip behaved more like an able general: though not a ſufficient match for the Rhodians and Attalus, yet not a bit daunted for the Roman war now impending, he immediately diſpatched Philocles, one of his lieutenants, with 2000 foot and 200 horſe to ravage the country of the Athenians; and gave the command of his fleet to Heraclides, ordering him to ſail to Maronea[f]; he himſelf marched thither by land, with 2000 light armed foot, and 200 horſe, and took it at the firſt attack; from thence he marched to Ænus[g], before which he underwent great fatigue,

[a] Now *Zia*. [b] The *Cyclades* in the *Archipelago*. [c] *Andro*. [d] *Paro*. [e] *Cythno*. [f] Now *Marogna*, in *Thrace*. [g] Now *Igno*, in *Thrace*.

but

but at last it was betray'd to him by Ganymedes, one of Ptolemy's generals. Afterwards he made himself master of several other fortified places, Cypsela[a], Doriscon[b], and Serrheum[c]. From thence marching to the Chersonesus, Ælæus[d] and Alopeconnesus[e] surrendered to him, as did Gallipoli[f], Madytos[g], and several inconsiderable forts. But the inhabitants of Abydos[h] would not admit even his deputies and shut their gates against him. The siege of this place long stopt his career; nay it might have been raised had Attalus and the Rhodians not been dilatory. Attalus sent only 300 men to reinforce the garison, and the Rhodians one quadrireme from their fleet stationed at Tenedos. Thither also Attalus came when the besieged were reduced to the utmost necessities, and his being so near revived their hopes of relief, but he sent them no succors either by sea or land. CHAP. XVI.

AT first the Abydenians placed on their ramparts many warlike machines, by discharges from which, they not only kept the enemy from approaching them by land, but greatly annoy'd them in their ships. At last when part of the wall was level'd with the ground, and the enemy's mines were brought as far as an inner wall, which they had run up in haste, they sent deputies to the king with articles of capitulation. They insisted, that the Rhodian quadrireme with it's crew, and Attalus's garison, should have leave to depart, and themselves to march away with their clothes. Philip rejected these terms, and answered them, he would have all or nothing. When their deputies brought back this message, their resentment was turned into rage and despair, and they acted with as much fury as the Saguntines formerly had done. They ordered all their women to be CHAP. XVII.

[a] Now *Ipsala*.
[b] Now *Dymæ*.
[c] Now *Serrb*.
[d] On the Hellespont, over against *Capo Greco*.
[e] Or island of Foxes, over against *Samos*.
[f] On the *Propontis*, towards the northern mouth of the *Hellespont*.
[g] The place where it stood is now called *Maiten*.
[h] Now *Aveo*, a poor village near the Thracian *Bosphorus*.

shut

CHAP. XVII.

ſhut up in the temple of Diana, and their ſons, daughters, and young children with their nurſes in the gymnaſium. They brought all their gold and ſilver into the forum, and put all their rich apparel on board a Cyzicenan and Rhodian galley, which were in the harbor. Then the prieſts and victims were brought, and altars placed in the middle of it. The firſt thing they did after that was, to ſelect perſons, who, as ſoon as they ſaw their own youth killed in the breach of the wall, ſhould maſſacre their wives and children, throw their gold, ſilver, and apparel that was on board the ſhips into the ſea, and ſet fire to as many of the private and public edifices as they could. Theſe bound themſelves by a moſt execrable oath dictated to them by the prieſts, to perpetrate this horid murder. Then the youth who bore arms ſwore likewiſe, that they would not leave off fighting till they died or became victorious. And indeed, animated by their oath, they fought with ſo furious an intrepidity, that when night was about to put an end to the action, Philip, terrified at their obſtinate rage, quitted the attack firſt. Then the chief men, to whom the execution of the moſt horrid part of the fact was entruſted, ſeeing ſo few ſurviving, and thoſe covered with wounds and extremely fatigued, at day break ſent the prieſts covered with vails to ſurrender the city to Philip.

CHAP. XVIII.

BEFORE the ſurrendry of Abydos, the Roman ambaſſadors, who were on their way to Alexandria, hearing that city was beſieged, agreed amongſt themſelves that M. Æmilius the youngeſt of them ſhould go and confer with Philip before it. The Roman complained of his having attacked king Attalus and the Rhodians, but eſpecially of his then beſieging Abydos. The Macedonian anſwered that the Pergamenian and Rhodians had been the aggreſſors. 'But, continued Æmilius, were the Abydenians ſo too?' Philip, not accuſtomed to ſuch round expoſtulations, thought this queſtion more haughty and impertinent than ought to have been

put to a crowned head, and replied; 'Your youth, CHAP. XVIII.
'your handſomneſs, and above all, your being a Ro-
'man, are the cauſes of your haughty behavior. But
'I deſire the Romans may ſhew regard for treaties,
'and not violate the peace with me. If they attack
'me, I am reſolved to make them ſenſible, that my
'kingdom and the Macedonian name is no leſs pow-
'erful and illuſtrious than that of the Romans.'
With this anſwer he diſmiſſed the Roman. Philip
got all the ſilver and gold, which was heaped up in
the forum, but made not one ſlave. For ſo ſudden
and deſperate madneſs ſeized the multitude, that,
imagining thoſe who had died in the breach, had
been betray'd, and upbraiding each other with their
oath, more particularly the prieſts, for having ſur-
rendered alive thoſe they had devoted to death, they
run up and down and maſſacred their wives and chil-
dren, and then put themſelves to death all manner of
ways. The king, ſtruck with this horrible madneſs,
repreſſed the violence of the ſoldiers, and cry'd out,
'I will give you three days time to put yourſelves to
'death.' During this time the vanquiſhed exerciſed
more acts of cruelty on themſelves, than the con-
quered would have done in the height of their reſent-
ment; and none of them fell into the enemy's hands
except ſuch as chains or other violent means reſtrained
from being their own executioners. Philip, leaving
a gariſon in the town, returned to his own kingdom.
This cruel fate of the Abydenians rouſed Philip for
the Roman war in like manner as that of the Sagun-
tines had done Hannibal formerly. He was met on
his way by couriers, who informed him, that the con-
ſul had already landed in Epirus, put his land forces
into winter quarters at Apollonia, and laid up his
fleet at Corcyra.

IN the mean time the deputies ſent into Africa to CHAP. XIX.
complain of Hamilcar who was at the head of an ar-
my of Gauls, were anſwered, that the Carthaginians
could do no more than baniſh him and confiſcate his
effects: that they had delivered up all the deſerters
and

CHAP. XIX. and fugitive ſlaves they could find, and would ſend an embaſſy to Rome to ſatisfy the ſenate on theſe points. They ſent to Rome 200000 modii of wheat, and a like quantity to the army in Macedonia. Then the ambaſſadors proceeded to the courts of Numidia. They delivered their inſtructions and preſents to Maſiniſſa. He offered 2000 Numidian horſe, but they would accept of no more than 1000. He ſhip'd them off for Macedonia, and ſent with them 200000 modii of wheat, and as many of barley. Their third deputation was to Verminas, who met them on the frontiers of his dominions, and left them to impoſe what conditions of peace they pleaſed; for peace with the Romans on any terms would be ſalutary and juſt. Accordingly they drew them up, and ordered him to ſend deputies to Rome to get them ratified.

CHAP. XX. ABOUT the ſame time the pro-conſul Lentulus returned from Spain. After he had given a detail of his ſucceſsful exploits for many years, he demanded permiſſion to enter the city in triumph. The fathers allowed his actions deſerved it, but ſaid former times furniſhed no precedent, where a general who acted neither in quality of dictator, conſul, or prætor, had ever enjoy'd a triumph: he had commanded in Spain as pro-conſul, not as conſul or prætor. However, notwithſtanding a plebeian tribune Ti. Sempr. Longus oppoſed it, pleading that they had neither ancient cuſtom or precedent for it, they were for granting him an ovation. The tribune, overcome by the unanimous voice of the fathers, drop'd his oppoſition, and by a decree of the ſenate Lentulus entered the ſenate in an ovation. He carried before him 44000 pound weight of ſilver, 2450 of gold out of the booty, and diſtributed to each of his ſoldiers 120 aſſes of braſs.

CHAP. XXI. BY this time the conſular army had marched from Aretium to Ariminum, and the 5000 Latins from Gaul ſupplied their place in Hetruria. In conſequence L. Furius took forced marches from Ariminum againſt the Gauls who were beſieging Cremona, and en-

encamped within a mile and an half of them. Had he without halting directly attacked their lines, he would have had an opportunity of performing glorious ſervice, for they were diſperſed through the fields, without having left a ſufficient guard in their camp. But, as he had marched with great expedition, he was afraid his troops were too much fatigued. The Gauls, being recalled by the ſhouts of their own men, left the booty they then had, returned to their camp, and next day marched out in order of battle. The Romans did not heſitate to accept the challenge; but they had ſcarce time to draw up, the enemy advanced with ſo much fury. The allies were divided into two bodies, the right one of which was poſted in the firſt line, and the two Roman legions in the ſecond. M. Furius commanded the firſt, M. Cecilius the legions, and L. Val. Flaccus the cavalry: They were all lieutenant generals. The prætor kept about him two generals of the ſame rank, to view all parts of the battle, and be ready to oppoſe all the ſudden attempts of the enemy. At firſt the Gauls made their utmoſt efforts in a body againſt the right wing of the allies in front, in hopes to break and trample it under foot. But miſſing their aim, they attempted to ſurround it on the flanks, which they thought would be eaſily done as they were ſuperior in numbers. When the prætor obſerved this motion, to enlarge his front, he brought up the legions from the ſecond line, to cover the right and left of the firſt, and vowed a temple to Jupiter, if he ſhould rout the enemy that day. He ordered L. Valerius, with the horſe of the legions and allies, to charge the two extremities of the enemy's army, and prevent them from ſurrounding the Romans. Obſerving alſo that the Gauls had thin'd their center by drawing off their troops to the wings, he ordered a cloſe body to advance and break it. In conſequence the cavalry repulſed their wings and the infantry their center, and great ſlaughter being made in both, the Gauls turned their backs and fled in great precipitation

CHAP. XXI.

tion to their lines. The Roman cavalry purſued, and the foot ſoon coming up, aſſaulted the camp. There did not eſcape out of it in all 6000 men, and above 35000 were either killed or taken with 80 ſtandards and above 200 Gallic waggons loaded with booty. Hamilcar the Carthaginian, and three Gallic generals of note fell in that battle. About 2000 Placentine priſoners were recovered and ſent back to the colony.

CHAP. XXII.

THIS was a complete and joyful victory to the Romans, and when the news of it arrived at Rome, a ſupplication was appointed for three days. About 2000 of the Romans and allies were killed, the greateſt number of them belonging to the right wing, which had ſuſtained the firſt vigorous charge of the enemy. Though the prætor had in a manner terminated the war, yet the conſul Aurelius, having finiſhed his buſineſs at Rome, came into Gaul and took from him the command of the victorious troops. As autumn was almoſt over before the other conſul reached his province, he took up his winter quarters about Apollonia. From his fleet, which was laid up at Corcyra, he had detached, as we obſerved above, C. Claudius with the Roman triremes. This reinforcement arriving at Pireæus, revived the ſpirits of the Athenians, who were quite deſponding. For the land forces, which uſed to croſs Megara from Corinth, and ravage the lands, were hereby ſtopt; and the pirates from Chalcis, which infeſted not only the ſeas, but the adjacent coaſts of the Athenians, durſt not double cape Sunium, or appear without the ſtreight of Euripus. Beſides the Rhodians ſent three quadriremes, and the Athenians themſelves fitted out three open veſſels to protect the coaſts. Claudius though he had done great ſervice by defending Athens and it's territories with this fleet; but an opportunity of performing a more important action offered itſelf.

CHAP. XXIII.

SOME exiles who had been driven from Chalcis by the king's gariſon, told him he might get poſſeſſion of that city without ſtriking a blow: for

the

there was no enemy near, the Macedonians straggled through the country, without any apprehension of danger; and the inhabitants, trusting to them, neglected the guard of their city. So he sailed with his informers, and arrived so soon at Sunium, that he could easily have got to the entrance of the streights of Eubœa, yet, to prevent his fleet from being descry'd, doubling the cape, he cast anchor till night. He weighed in the first of the night, and without being discovered arrived a little before day, at a place of the city thinly inhabited. He scaled, with a few troops, the next tower and the walls about it, where there were either no guards at all, or those that were fast asleep. Then marching into streets better inhabited, they killed the centinels, broke open the gates and let in the rest of the troops. Then they dispersed over all the town, increasing the alarm by setting the houses about the forum on fire. They burnt all the king's magazines, arsenals, and many engines of war. After that they slaughtered the fugitives and those who made resistance indiscriminately. All of an age fit to bear arms, either fled or were killed. Sopater, who commanded the garison, was slain. All the booty was brought into the forum and then embarked on board the fleet. The Rhodians also burst open the prison, and liberated the prisoners whom Philip had shut up there as the safest place he had. Having beat down and defaced the statues of Philip, he sounded a retreat, reimbarked his troops and returned to Pireæus, from whence he had set out. If he had had soldiers sufficient to have garisoned Chalcis without quitting the defence of Athens, Philip would have, in the very beginning of the war, been deprived of Chalcis and Euripus, a matter of the greatest consequence. For as the pass of Thermopylæ secures Greece by land, so the streight of Euripus secures it by sea. CHAP. XXIII.

PHILIP was then at Demetrias. When he received advice of this misfortune, though he was too late to save the city already taken, yet to revenge the loss, CHAP. XXIV.

CHAP. XXIV.

loſs, to which it is common to have recourſe firſt, he immediately marched with great expedition, with 300 horſe, thinking to ſurprize the Romans there. But on his arrival finding it abandoned, and ſeeing nothing but the horrid ſpectacle of the ſmoking ruins of this ally'd city, in which ſcarce numbers ſufficient to bury the dead ſurvived, he returned as expeditiouſly, and paſſing the Euripus by a bridge, croſſed Bœotia, and marched to Athens, in hopes his attempt on it would not prove equally unſucceſsful. And he had ſucceeded, had not a hemerodrome, (ſo are couriers, who fly from place to place all day to make obſervations, called by the Greeks) decry'd his detachment from a watch tower, and got to Athens before him about midnight. All there were as faſt aſleep, and as little on their guard, as thoſe at Chalcis had been a few days before. Being rouzed by this alarm of the courier, the prætor of Athens, and Dioxippus, who commanded the cohorts of mercenaries, aſſembled their ſoldiers in the forum, and ordered the trumpets from the citadel to give the ſignal of their being certain of the enemy's approach. Accordingly they run firſt to the gates and then to the walls. A few hours after, but before day, Philip arrived; but obſerving many lights, and hearing the noiſe uſual on ſuch alarms, halted, ordering his men to lye down and reſt, reſolved, ſince ſtratagem had not ſucceeded, to uſe force. He approached that gate called Dipylos, in the front of the city, and larger and wider than all the reſt. Without it is a large road about a mile in length leading to the gymnaſium called Academia; where they had room to marſhal their horſe and foot. By this road the Athenians, having formed their troops within the gate, ſally'd out with Attalus's gariſon, and Dioxippus's cohort. As ſoon as Philip perceived them, imagining he had them in his power, and that he would be glutted with the blood he had long thirſted after, for he was more exaſperated againſt them than againſt any other ſtate of Greece, he gave his ſoldiers this ſhort exhortation, 'Fix

'your

'your eyes on me, during the fight, and remember, CHAP.
'where the king is, there his troops ought to be.' XXIV.
Then he ſpurred his horſe againſt the enemy, inſpired with rage and a thirſt of glory, thinking it honorable to fight before a multitude of ſpectators who crowded on the walls to ſee the engagement. He advanced a little before the reſt, attended by a few horſe, and ruſhing with fury into the middle of the enemy, ſtruck them into a panic and inſpired his own troops with great ardor. He killed many with his own hand, both cloſe at hand and at a diſtance, and drove them into the gate, whither he purſued them in perſon. After great ſlaughter of them trembling in the narrow paſſage, he retired from this raſh attempt with ſafety; for the guards from the towers of the gate did not throw their darts for fear of ſtriking their own men, who were mingled with the enemy. When the Athenians got their ſoldiers within the walls, Philip ſounded a retreat, and encamped at Cynoſarges [a], a temple of Hercules, where was a gymnaſium and a grove. But he burnt Cynoſarges, Lyceum [b], and every thing that was ſacred and pleaſant round the city, demoliſhing not only the houſes, but even the ſepulchres, and without regard to God or man ſparing nothing on which he could vent his furious rage.

NEXT day the gates were at firſt ſhut: but, as CHAP.
a reinforcement of Pergamenians from Ægina, and XXV.
Romans from the Pireæus, had entered the town, they were ſuddenly opened, upon which Philip retired three miles farther. He poſted himſelf at Eleuſis [c], in hopes of ſurprizing the temple and the caſtle which ſurrounds and commands it. But obſerving the gariſon on it's guard, and the fleet ſailing from Pireæus to it's relief, he quitted the enterprize, marching to Megara and from thence to Corinth. He had heard the diet of the Acheans was aſſembled at Argos [d], whither he went

[a] It was ſo called from a black dog's entering the temple and ſtealing a thigh of the victim from the prieſt.

[b] A fine ſhady walk without the city.

[c] Where *Leſnia* now ſtands.

[d] A city of *Peloponneſus*, on the *Saronic* gulph, and now called *Argo*.

CHAP. XXV.

and ſurprized the people who little expected him. They were deliberating on a war againſt Nabis tyrant of Sparta, who, while the Achæans had taken the command from Philopœmenes and beſtow'd it on Cyclias, a general of far leſs abilities, perceiving that the aid of the Achæans was hereby faln off, had renewed the war, and not only ravaged the neighboring country, but alarmed the towns. While they were conſulting about the contingent of troops each city ſhould furniſh againſt Nabis and the Lacedæmonians, Philip promiſed to take that war off their hands: He would not only reſtrain the ravagers in the neighboring country, but transfer all the terror of the war into Laconia by marching his army directly thither. This kind ſpeech was accepted with general applauſe. 'But, continued he, it is reaſon-
'able, while I am defending your territories with my
'armies, that my own be not left expoſed and de-
'fenceleſs. Therefore I muſt deſire, if you think pro-
'per, that you would raiſe troops ſufficient to pro-
'tect the country as far as Oreos, Chalcis and Co-
'rinth; that being free from apprehenſion behind,
'I may ſecurely attack Nabis and the Spartans.' The Achæans clearly perceived the drift of this generous promiſe of aid againſt the Lacedæmonians. His view was, to get their youth out of Peloponneſus, as hoſtages to engage their nation with him in the Roman war. Cyclias their prætor, thinking it impolitic to accuſe Philip of this deſign, only obſerved, that by the laws of Achæa it was not allowable to deliberate on any ſubject, but the particular one for which they were aſſembled; and though till that day he had been reckoned one of the king's creatures, yet he paſſed the decree for levying an army againſt Nabis, and diſmiſſed the diet, which he had held with courage and freedom. Philip, diſappointed of his mighty hopes, picked up a few volunteers and returned to Corinth and the Attic territories.

CHAP. XXVI.

WHILE Philip was in Achæa, Philocles, one of his generals, marched from Eubœa with 2000 Thracians

Thracians and Macedonians, to ravage the Athenian territories, and paſſed mount Cytheron into the region of Eleuſis. From thence he detached one half of them to plunder the lands, and laid himſelf in ambuſh with the other in an advantageous poſt, that he might ſurprize the gariſon of Eleuſis in caſe they ſhould attack his foragers. His deſign ſucceded not to his wiſh. So recalling the ravagers, he advanced in form to attack Eleuſis, from whence being repulſed with loſs, he joined Philip on his rout from Achaia. The king himſelf alſo made an attempt on that fort; but the Roman fleet coming from Pireæus, and throwing ſuccors into the place, obliged him to quit the enterprize. He then divided his forces, ſent Philocles with half to Athens, and went in perſon with the other to Pireæus; that while his general by marching up to the walls reſtrained the inhabitants from ſallying, he might be better able to take the port which was left with a ſmall gariſon. But this enterprize proved as abortive as his firſt, Pireæus being defended by the ſame troops that ſaved Eleuſis. Then he turned ſuddenly againſt Athens itſelf; but being repulſed by a ſally of both horſe and foot in a narrow place of a half ruined wall, which ſtretching out like two arms joins the city to the port, he quitted the aſſault, and again dividing his troops with Philocles marched to lay the country waſte. As in his former ravages round the city he had wreaked his vengeance on the tombs, ſo now, that he might leave nothing inviolated, he did not ſpare the temples of the Gods, ordering all the ſacred places in the villages to be burnt and demoliſhed. As Attica abounded with fine decorations, plenty of marble, and ingenious artificers, he found ſufficient ſubject of this kind to vent his fury on. He not only ordered the temples to be demoliſhed, and the ſtatues to be beat down, but even the ſtones to be broken, to prevent the edifices from riſing out of their ruins. After that, without having his revenge glutted, for want of more ſubjects to exerciſe it on, he marched to Bœotia. This was all he did memorable in Greece.

CHAP. XXVI.

CHAP. XXVII.

AT this time the conſul Sulpicius was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, at the river Apſus [a]. Having ſent for the lieutenant general Apuſtius hither, he ſent him with a detachment to ravage the enemy's territories. This officer having pillaged the extreme parts of Macedonia, and taken the forts of Corrago, Gerrhunium and Orgeſſos [b] at the firſt aſſault, arrived at Antipatria [c] in the mouth of the paſs of Thermopylæ. He firſt invited the chief men of it to a conference, and endeavored to perſuade them to put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. But ſeeing they deſpiſed his advice, relying on the largeneſs and ſtrength of their walls, and ſituation of their town, he ſtormed it, put all arrived at the age of puberty to the ſword, gave the plunder to the ſoldiers, demoliſhed and ſet the city on fire. This ſo terrified the people of Codrion [d], a ſtrong and well fortified city, that they ſurrendered to him. Having left a gariſon in it, he took by ſtorm Ilion [e]. This town is not ſo noted as it's name, born by another city in Aſia. As he was returning to the conſul with a great booty, Athenagoras, one of Philip's generals, attacked him paſſing a river, and put his rear into diſorder. Upon the ſhouts and alarm the general rode back, and throwing the baggage in the middle, formed his troops. But the Macedonians were not able to ſuſtain the attack; many of them were killed and many taken priſoners. Thus having returned ſafe to the conſul, he was immediately diſpatched to the fleet.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THIS firſt expedition in the war proving ſo fortunate, the petty kings and princes bordering on Macedonia, came to the Roman camp: Pleuratus ſon of Scherdilædus, Amynander king of Athamania, and from the Dardans Bato ſon of Longarus. Longarus had by himſelf made war with Demetrius Philip's father. They all offered their aid. The conſul anſwered, when he came into Macedonia, he would make uſe of the aſſiſtance of the Dardans and

[a] Now *Aſpro*. [b] All three on the weſt of *Macedon*. [c] No longer in being. [d] Probably *Dardaſi*. [e] Bordering on *Epirus*.

Pleuratus. To Amynander he aſſigned the taſk of exciting the Ætolians to take up arms. He deſired Attalus's deputies, who had come at the ſame time, to tell their maſter, to wait in his winter quarters at Ægina till the Roman fleet ſhould come up; for as ſoon as they were joined, they would attack Philip as formerly by ſea. Deputies were alſo ſent to the Rhodians, deſiring they would take part in the war. Philip, who was by this time arrived in Macedonia, was making as great preparations for the war. He ſent his ſon Perſes, who was yet a boy, under the direction of ſome of the lords of his court, with a body of forces to block up the paſs at Pelagonia [a]. He demoliſhed two conſiderable cities, Sciathos [b] and Peparethus [c], leſt they ſhould fall a prey to the enemy's fleet; and ſent deputies to the Ætolians to prevent that fickle nation from falling off from their allegiance on the approach of the Romans. CHAP. XXVIII.

A GENERAL diet of the Ætolians had been appointed to meet on a certain day. To engage them to their ſeveral intereſts, deputies came in haſte from the king, and L. Furius Purpureo from the conſul. The Macedonians, with whom they had lately made a treaty, were firſt heard. 'Ætolians, ſaid they, as 'there is no change in our affairs, we have no new 'demand to make; for theſe very reaſons, which 'convinced you upon trial, that the Roman alliance 'could not be advantageous to you, and induced you 'to make peace with Philip, ought to ſuperinduce 'your ſtrict obſervation of it now it is made.' Then one of them in particular ſaid: 'Do you chuſe to 'imitate the Roman arrogance, let me call it levity? 'What anſwer did they order to be given to your 'ambaſſadors at Rome? How dare you appear here, 'after having made peace with Philip without our 'conſent? Now theſe ſame haughty lords demand, 'that you ſhould join them in the war againſt that CHAP. XXIX.

[a] Belonging to *Pæniq*, in the north of *Macedon*, and it's chief city is *Stagirus*.

[b] In the iſland of *Sciatho* in the *Ægæan ſea*, between the coaſt of *Magneſia* and *Peparethus*.

[c] Now *Peperi*, in the ſame ſea.

CHAP. XXIX.

'very prince. Formerly they pretended they took 'up arms againſt him at your inſtigation and on your 'account; now they forbid you to remain in peace 'with him. They went at firſt into Sicily, under 'pretext of aiding the Meſſinians, and then, forſooth, 'of delivering Syracuſe from the oppreſſion of the 'Carthaginians. Now they are in poſſeſſion of Meſ-'ſina and all Sicily, which they have made a tribu-'tary province, and over-awe with axes and faſces. 'I can aſſure you, that as you aſſemble your diet, 'according to your laws, at Naupactus, by magi-'ſtrates of your own creating, to chuſe at pleaſure 'friends and enemies, and with whom to make 'peace, with whom to have war; ſo the ſtates 'are ſummoned to meet at Meſſina, Syracuſe, or Li-'lybæum: But it is a Roman prætor who ſummons 'them, and preſides in their diet: He is exalted 'on a tribunal, haughtily adminiſtering juſtice, ſur-'rounded with lictors: they ſee the rods ready for 'their backs, and the axes for their necks: they 'have annually a new tyrant ſent them by lot. And 'who either ought or can wonder at this; ſince they 'ſee the cities of Italy ſubject to the ſame tyrannical 'government, Rhegium, Tarentum and Capua, not 'to mention towns nearer Rome, and on whoſe ruins 'ſhe has riſen to her preſent pitch of grandeur and 'domination? Unfortunate Capua is the ſepulcher 'and monument only of the Campanians; her citi-'zens are either buried or baniſhed; ſhe is a monu-'ment of the greateſt cruelty, diſmembered, without 'ſenate, without commonalty, without magiſtrates: 'It was greater cruelty to leave her to be thus inha-'bited, than it would have been to have razed her 'with the ground. It is madneſs to believe, that, 'if theſe foreigners, who differ more from us in 'language, cuſtoms and laws, than in the diſtance of 'their country by ſea and land, ſhould once get poſ-'ſeſſion of our country, the leaſt ſhadow of our con-'ſtitution will remain. But you ſeem to apprehend 'for your liberty from the power of Philip. Reflect,

'how

'how after you provoked him to be your enemy by being the aggreſſors, he aſked no reparation but peace; and deſires no more at this time, than a faithful obſervance of that you made with him. Introduce foreign troops into this country, receive once the yoke: when the Romans are once your abſolute lords, you will too late and in vain wiſh for the alliance of Philip. Trifling cauſes, at particular times, ſet the Ætolians, Acarnanians and Macedonians at variance, and they ſoon lay aſide their animoſities again. But all Grecians are and ever will be at war with foreigners and barbarians. They are enemies by unalterable nature, and not for reaſons which change daily with circumſtances. To conclude then where I began: In this very place, you, the very ſame men, made peace with this ſame Philip, and the ſame Romans declared their diſpleaſure at that very peace, which, after it has been concluded and ſettled, they now endeavor to diſturb. And ſince fortune has made no alteration in it, I ſee no reaſon why you ſhould.' CHAP. XXIX.

AFTER this ſpeech of the Macedonians, by order and permiſſion of the Romans, the Athenians, who, having ſuffered the moſt extreme calamities, could with greater juſtice inveigh againſt the cruelty and inhuman barbarity of the king, were heard. They pathetically lamented the miſerable devaſtations and ravages committed in their country. 'We do not complain, ſaid they, that we have ſuffered hoſtilities from an enemy, that he has burnt our corn fields, demoliſhed our houſes, and drove off great booty of men and cattle: Theſe indeed are miſerable calamities to endure, but not blameable in enemies, ſince the laws of war juſtify the commiſſion and ſuffering them. But we complain that he, who calls the Romans foreigners and barbarians, hath violated at once all the laws of Gods and men. As in his firſt ravages he made war with the manes of the dead and infernal deities, ſo in his ſecond, with the celeſtial Gods. He demo- CHAP. XXX.

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'lished all the sepulchres and tombs in our country, 'he exposed the ashes of our dead; and did not 'leave a bone of them covered with earth. We 'had temples, which our forefathers formerly, when 'they lived in villages, consecrated in these small 'forts and towns, and would not leave quite de-'serted, when they were drawn into one city [a]. Philip 'burnt them all one after another. The statues of 'our Gods lye on the ground maim'd and half burnt, 'so do the stately columns of our temples. He has 'made Attica, once an elegant and wealthy coun-'try, poor and deform'd, and, if he had it in his 'power, would treat Ætolia and all Greece in the 'same manner. Athens would have been in the 'same ruinous circumstances, if the Romans had not 'come to it's relief. For with the same mischievous 'intentions he attacked the Gods that inhabit our 'city, and Minerva, the tutelary Goddess of our 'citadel, the temple of Ceres at Eleusis, and Jupiter 'and Minerva at Pireæus: but being repulsed not 'only from these temples, but our walls by force 'and arms, he wreaked his fury on the temples 'which had no other defence than reverence for the 'Gods. Therefore we implore and conjure you, 'Ætolians, to compassionate our wretched circum-'stances, and enter heartily into the war, under 'the conduct of the immortal Gods, and the Ro-'mans, the most formidable power next to that of 'heaven.'

CHAP. XXXI.

THE Roman ambassador spoke next. 'The 'Macedonians first, and then the Athenians, have 'quite altered the plan of my speech. I came hither 'to complain of the injuries Philip has done to 'many cities in alliance with us: but the Macedo-'nians, by accusing the Romans first, oblige me to 'prefer a vindication of my republic from their as-'persions; and the Athenians, by their relation of 'his horrid and inhuman crimes committed against 'both cœlestial and infernal Gods, have left neither

[a] *Theseus* drew the *Athenians* out of the country into *Athens*.

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CHAP. XXXI.

'me or any elſe any thing farther to urge againſt
'him. You may well believe that the Cians, Aby-
'denians, Æneans, Maronites, Thaſians, Samians,
'Lariſſans and the Meſſenians of Achaia, could
'make the ſame complaints, nay more grievous and
'bitter, as he had them more in his power. As to
'what he has objected againſt our republic, I own,
'our actions cannot be vindicated, if I cannot ſhew
'they merit praiſe. He has upbraided us with the
'fate of Rhegium, Capua and Syracuſe. As to
'Rhegium, a legion, which we, on the petition of
'the Rhegians, ſent to gariſon their city, treache-
'rouſly ſeized the town it was ſent to defend. Did
'we approve this villainous action, when we carry'd
'our arms againſt thoſe guilty troops; when, after
'reducing them, we revenged our injured allies by
'ſcourging and beheading them; when we reſtored
'the Rhegians their city, land, and all their effects,
'with liberty and the enjoyment of their laws? Syra-
'cuſe was oppreſſed by foreign tyrants, which made
'their caſe more lamentable, than if it had been by
'their lawful kings: we went to their relief, endured
'the greateſt hardſhips in beſieging that ſtrong city
'during three years, and though the Syracuſans choſe
'rather to be enſlaved by tyrants, than taken by us,
'we reſtored them their liberty, after we became
'maſters of it. Neither do we deny, that Sicily is
'a province to us, and that thoſe cities, which ſided
'with the Carthaginians, and jointly with them
'maintained a war againſt us, are our tributaries.
'On the contrary, we deſire that you and all the
'world be made ſenſible that Rome knows how to
'treat her enemies according to their deſerts. Need
'we repent of having puniſhed the Capuans, when
'even they themſelves cannot complain of it? For
'near 70 years we had carry'd on a war on their
'account againſt the Samnites, wherein we had ſuf-
'fered extremely; we firſt made a league with them,
'then an alliance by intermarriage, and laſt of all
'granted them the freedom of our city, and yet

'they

CHAP. XXXI.

'they were the first people in Italy, who revolted 'to the Carthaginians, after having inhumanly mas- 'sacred our garisons. Besides being enraged that 'we laid siege to their city, they sent Hannibal to 'attack Rome. Had we razed their city, and not 'left a man of them alive, who could have taken 'offence at it, or said that they had met a harder 'fate than they deserved? A greater number of 'them, from a consciousness of their crimes, laid 'violent hands on themselves, than we punished. 'We indeed deprived the rest of their city and lands, 'but in such a manner as to leave them some lands, 'and a place to dwell in. The walls and houses 'which were not accomplices of their crime, we 'suffered to stand, and whoever sees them at this 'time, cannot perceive the least vestige of the city's 'having been besieged and taken. But why do I insist 'on our treatment of Capua? Did we not grant peace 'and liberty to Carthage after we had conquered her? 'The greatest danger is, lest by too easily pardon- 'ing the vanquished, we excite many more to try 'the hazard of war with us. Let these suffice for 'our justification, and the confusion of Philip. As 'to his domestic parricides, the murder of his rela- 'tions and of the lords of his court, and his unbri- 'dled licentiousness, more inhuman even than his 'cruelty, you, who live nearer Macedonia than we, 'are better acquainted with them. As to your con- 'cern in the matter, Ætolians, we undertook a war 'against this prince on your account, and you made 'peace with him without consulting us. Perhaps 'you'll say, that as we were totally occupy'd in the 'Punic war, you was constrained to accept condi- 'tions of peace from him, who had it in his power to 'impose them; and that we having a more impor- 'tant war on our hands, neglected that which you 'had discontinued. Now, having by the favor of 'the Gods terminated the Carthaginian war, we send 'all our forces against Macedonia; and a fair op- 'portunity is offered of renewing your alliance and

'con-

'confederacy with us, unleſs you chuſe rather to 'periſh with Philip, than conquer with the Ro-'mans.'

THUS ſpake the Roman, and the whole diet inclined to favor his cauſe, when Damocritus, prætor of the Ætolians, whom, it is reported, the king had corrupted with a ſum of money, agreed neither with one party or the other, but declared: 'that 'nothing was more pernicious in important delibe-'rations, than precipitation. Let repentance follow 'ever ſo cloſe upon it, it always comes too late to 'have any ſalutary effect: for haſty meaſures can't 'be revoked, or matters reſtored to the ſame ſitua-'tion they were in before. The ſubject of our pre-'ſent deliberation is of ſuch a nature that it cannot 'be determined at preſent, till after more mature 'deliberation. Nothing relating to peace or war 'can legally be determined out of a general diet. 'Let us then now decree, that your prætor without 'fraud, ſummon a diet when he has a mind to treat 'of peace or war; and that what ſhall be laid 'before it, and agreed to, may have the ſame force 'and be equally binding, as if it had been paſſed 'in a general diet.' Having thus diſmiſſed the deputies without coming to any determination, he boaſted of having done his country a ſignal piece of ſervice, as he had gained time for them to make an alliance with that ſide, which ſhould have the beſt fortune in the progreſs of the war. Theſe were the reſolutions of the Ætolian diet. CHAP. XXXII.

PHILIP was extremely active in his preparations both by ſea and land. He rendezvouſed all his naval forces at Demetrias in Theſſaly. Imagining that Attalus and the Roman fleet would ſail early in the ſpring from Ægina, he gave his former admiral Heraclides the conduct of the fleet with orders to guard the coaſt. He himſelf levy'd a land army, flattering himſelf that he had deprived the Romans of two powerful auxiliaries, the Ætolians on one ſide and Dardans on the other, by having ſent his ſon CHAP. XXXIII.

Perſes

CHAP. XXXIII.

Perſes to ſecure the paſs of Pelagonia. The conſul had completed his preparations, and had already entered upon action. He was marching through the country of the Deſſaretæ, carrying along with him the corn he had brought out of his winter quarters, without touching it, as the countries through which he paſſed furniſhed him with ſubſiſtence ſufficient for his troops. All the towns and villages on his rout either ſurrendered voluntarily, or through dread of his arms: ſeveral were taken by force, and ſeveral he found abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled to the mountains. He encamped at Lycus[a] near the river Bevus[b], where he ſent for proviſions from the magazines of the Deſſaretæ. Philip ſaw all the country round in great alarm and conſternation, but not knowing what rout the conſul had taken, he ſent a ſquadron of horſe to diſcover it. The conſul was as much in the dark, with reſpect to Philip's motions. He knew he had quitted his winter quarters, but not knowing whither he had gone, he alſo ſent a detachment of the cavalry to enquire. Theſe two ſquadrons having long wandered through the territories of the Deſſaretæ, by different roads, at laſt met in the ſame. The noiſe of the men and neighing of the horſes convinced each that the enemy was at hand. Accordingly they got ready their arms and horſes before they came in view, and engaged as ſoon as they ſaw the enemy. As they were choſen troops on both ſides; and by chance equal in number and valor, they fought ſeveral hours without any advantage, and at length, through the wearineſs of men and horſes parted without determining the victory. 40 Macedonian troopers, and 25 Romans fell on the ſpot. Neither could tell from this rencounter where the enemy were, ſo that the latter did not return to the conſul, nor the former to the king. They got their information from deſerters, whoſe natural levity in all wars furniſhes one party with the knowledge of the motions of the others.

[a] A town of *Eordea*, in the weſt of *Macedon*.

[b] Unknown.

PHILIP, imagining that it would more ſtrictly conciliate the affections of his men, and make them readier to run all hazards for him, took care to have all the troopers bury'd who had faln in this expedition, cauſing them to be brought into the camp, that the whole army might be eye witneſſes of their honorable funeral. But nothing is more uncertain or leſs to be depended on, than the mind and affections of the multitude. What the king flattered himſelf would inſpire them with reſolution to hazard every thing in his ſervice, ſtruck them with fear and daſtardlineſs. For being accuſtomed to fight only with Greeks and Illyrians, with pikes, arrows, and lances which made very ſmall wounds, when they ſaw that by the Spaniſh ſwords the legs and arms were quite cut off, the heads cleanly ſevered from the body, the entrails hanging out, and other large and dreadful wounds, they were terrified at the thoughts of the weapons and men they were to deal with for the future. The king himſelf, having never fought a pitched battle with the Romans, was ſtruck with terror. In conſequence he recal'd his ſon with the troops that guarded the paſs of Pelagonia to reinforce his own, and by this means opened Pleuratus and the Dardans a free paſſage into Macedonia. With 20000 foot and 4000 horſe he marched towards the enemy, with the deſerters for his guides, and encamp'd in lines fortified with a foſſé and rampart within 200 paces of them on an eminence near Athacus[a]. It is ſaid when he looked down on the Roman camp below, he admired the diſpoſition of it in general, and the diviſion of the particular quarters, the order of the tents and regularity of the ſtreets, concluding with this ſpeech, 'This is not the camp of Barbarians.' The king and conſul kept within their lines for two days waiting each other's motion. On the third the Romans marched out in order of battle.

CHAP. XXXIV.

[a] In *Candavia* on the river *Genuſius*.

BUT

CHAP. XXXV.

BUT the king afraid of venturing a deciſive action ſo ſoon, detached Athenagoras, one of the lords of his court, with 400 Trallians, a people of Illyricum, as we have already obſerved, and 300 Cretans with an equal number of foot, to haraſs the enemy's cavalry. When they were within 500 paces of them, the Romans detached the velites, and near two ſquadrons of horſe, that they might equal the Macedonians in the number of horſe and foot. The king's detachment believed that they were to engage men who fought in the ſame manner as they did themſelves; that the horſe would advance, throw their darts, then retire and return to the charge again. The ſwiftneſs and agility of the Illyrians made them exceding ſerviceable in excurſions and ſudden charges, and the Cretans were very dextrous at throwing their darts upon the enemy as they advanced with precipitation. But the violent, obſtinate and continued charge of the Romans, rendered their manner of fighting quite unſerviceable. For, as if they had been fighting a pitched battle, the velites, after diſcharging their lances, charged ſword in hand; and the horſe no ſooner came cloſe up to the enemy, then they ſtood on the ſame ground, fighting ſome on horſeback, and others diſmounting mingled with the foot. Thus the king's cavalry unaccuſtomed to a ſtanding fight, were no wiſe a match for the Roman; nor his foot, who fluctuated and ran from place to place, beſides being almoſt unguarded, having only a ſhort buckler and thruſting ſword, to be compared to the Roman foot, who were equally well armed for defending themſelves and annoying the enemy. In conſequence they were not able to ſuſtain the attack, and retired to their camp, owing their ſafe eſcape to their ſwiftneſs of foot.

CHAP. XXXVI.

THE ſecond day after, the king, reſolving to march out with all his horſe and light arm'd troops, over night poſted the corps which bore ſhort bucklers in form of a creſcent in ambuſh in an advantageous poſt between the two camps. He ordered Athena-

Athenagoras and the horſe, in caſe they ſucceded in the battle, to follow their blow; but if they were worſted to retire by degrees in order to draw the enemy into the ambuſcade. The cavalry indeed obſerved their orders in the retreat, but the commanders of the ambuſcade, without waiting for the ſignal, ſtarted up too ſoon and ſo miſſed the opportunity of acting with ſucceſs. The Romans being victorious in the open field, and having ſafely eſcaped the ambuſh, retired to their lines. Next day the conſul with all his forces offered Philip battle, having poſted ſome elephants in the front. As they had taken ſome in the Carthaginian war, they uſed them, but this was the firſt time. But perceiving he kept cloſe within his lines, he rode up to them, and upbraided him with cowardice. Afterwards ſeeing the king would not give him an opportunity of fighting, and that, as his camp was ſo near, it was not ſafe to ſend out foragers, ſince the royal horſe would immediately fall on them when diſperſed through the fields, he decamped, removing to Octolophus[a], about eight miles diſtant and much ſafer for foraging. At firſt, while the Romans went a foraging in the neighboring country, the king kept quiet within his lines, to augment their negligence and audaciouſneſs. But when he ſaw them diſperſed all over the country, he marched in haſte with all his cavalry, Cretan auxiliaries, and the ſwifteſt of the foot that could march as expeditiouſly as the horſe, and halted between the Roman camp and their foragers. Then he divided that body, detaching one half to cut off the ſtraggling foragers, with orders not to leave one of them alive, and ſtay'd himſelf with the other half to block up all the roads by which he thought they would return to the camp. Nothing was to be ſeen but ſlaughter and flight, neither had a meſſenger of this misfortune eſcaped with the news to the Roman camp, having all faln in with the king's guards on their return. More were killed

CHAP. XXXVI.

[a] A town ſurrounded with eight hills, between the river *Arzenza*, and the mountains of *Candavia*.

by

by thoſe who beſet the roads, than by the detachment ſent to ſlaughter them in the fields. At laſt ſome of them eſcaping between the enemies poſts, gave an indiſtinct account of it, and raiſed a great alarm in the Roman camp.

CHAP. XXXVII. THE conſul immediately ordered the cavalry, as each beſt could, to fly to the relief of thoſe in diſtreſs, while he advanced with the infantry in a ſquare battalion. The horſe diſperſed and wandered through the fields, being miſled by the ſhouts which came from different quarters. Some fell in with the enemy, which occaſioned engagements in many places at once. A bloody battle was fought at the poſt where the king was, and moſt of the Romans, having kept the middle road, had faln in with them. In reſpect of numbers of horſe and foot they were a complete army, the king animated them in perſon, and the Cretan auxiliaries, fighting in a compact body, and being ready prepared to receive the enemy who advanced in ſtraggling parties, wounded many of them before they were aware. Had they but obſerved any meaſure, they had not only got great glory but a complete victory. But purſuing their advantage too far through avidity of ſlaughter they fell in with the Roman cohorts, which had been ſent before with the tribunes. The flying cavalry alſo, no ſooner perceived their own enſigns, than they wheeled and fell on the enemy who were purſuing them precipitately. In a moment the fortune of the battle changed, and they who purſued before, now fled. Many who had engaged too cloſely were killed, and great numbers in the flight. Neither did they all periſh by the ſword, many were driven into the marſhes, where they and their horſes ſunk in the mud. Even the king himſelf was in danger: for his horſe being wounded, fell down and threw him headlong to the ground, and he was very near being taken as he lay. He was however ſaved by a trooper, who nimbly leaped from his horſe, and mounted the trembling prince upon him. The trooper himſelf, not being ab

able to keep pace with the horſe in their flight, eſpecially as the enemy ſpurred faſter on when they ſaw the king fall. The king after having rod round the marſhes, at length by bye ways arrived at his camp, where all had almoſt deſpaired of his ſafety. 200 Macedonian troopers fell in that action, and 100 were taken, and 80 horſe richly caparisoned, with a great quantity of arms.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SOME blame the king's raſhneſs, and the conſul's negligence and indolence that day. They think the king ought to have continued quiet, as he knew, by ravaging the circumjacent country, the enemy would have been, within a few days, reduced to extreme want of proviſions; and that the conſul, after he had routed the enemy's cavalry and light troops, and almoſt taken the king himſelf, ought to have marched immediately to their camp: for the enemy were in ſo great a panic, that they would not have ſtaid, and thus the war might have been finally terminated in a few hours. But as uſual in ſuch caſes, this is more eaſily ſaid than performed. For, had all the king's infantry been engaged, it might have happened in the confuſion, that, while they fled in fear and conſternation to their camp, and the enemy had entered it pellmell with them, it might have been taken. But as his infantry were left entire in the camp, on whoſe rampart they had guards as well as in advanced poſts, the conſul would only have faln into the ſame error with the king, who a little before had raſhly purſued the Roman horſe too far. On the other hand, had Philip not purſued his advantage precipitately, there would have been no room to cenſure his firſt ſtep in falling upon the Roman foragers as they were diſperſed. We have alſo the leſs ground to be ſurprized, that he riſqued this action, when we conſider it was then reported that Pleuratus and the Dardans were on their march into Macedonia with a great army. For had Philip waited till they preſſed him on all ſides, it was very probable the Romans would have terminated the war to

their advantage without acting themſelves. After theſe two defeats of the king's cavalry, he thought it unſafe to ſtay in the ſame camp, and deſiring to ſteal away without being diſcovered by the enemy, about ſunſet he ſent a trumpet to the conſul to demand a truce for burying the dead. Having by this, and leaving many fires in his camp, deceived the enemy, he decamp'd at the ſecond watch.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE conſul had ſupp'd and was retiring to reſt, when he was informed that a trumpet from the king was arrived, and what his meſſage was. He only anſwered, that next morning he would give him audience and agree to his demand. By this means Philip got the whole ſpace of that night, and part of the next day, to haſten his march. He took his rout to the mountains, where the paſſage was ſo narrow that he knew the Roman heavy arm'd troops could not follow him. The conſul granted the truce and diſmiſſed the trumpet at day break. Soon after he was ſenſible the enemy was gone, but not knowing what way to take in purſuit of him, he ſtay'd ſome days in the ſame camp in order to forage. Then he went to Stubera [a], and brought thither all the corn out of Pelagonia. From thence he went to Pellina [b], without knowing whither the enemy had gone. The firſt place Philip encamped at was Bryanium [c]; from whence he marched by croſs ways and alarmed the Romans. Accordingly they left Pellina and encamped at the river Oſphagus [d]. The king entrenched himſelf at a little diſtance on the banks of the Erigonus [e]. But being certainly informed that the Romans were going into Eordæa [f], he marched away to ſeize the paſſes, to keep the enemy from entering it. In ſome places he raiſed a rampart, in ſome a foſſe,

[a] In *Illyricum*, to the ſouth of the *Deuropes*.

[b] A city of the *Deuropes*, to the eaſt of the former.

[c] In the ſame country, near *Erigonus*.

[d] A ſmall brook, that ran into the *Erigonus*.

[e] Now *Viſtrizza*, riſes in the mountains of *Illyricum*, runs through a part of *Pæonia*, and falls into the *Axius*.

[f] Between the *Aous* and *Genuſium* bordering on the *Taulantii* and *Daſſaretæ*.

in a third heap'd up ſtones in form of a wall, and in a fourth a bulwark of trees, fortifying every place as it required and with the materials he had neareſt at hand, till, as he thought, he made this poſt impregnable, which was of it's own nature difficult of acceſs. The ground about it was covered with woods, which made it very incommodious for the Macedonian phalanx, which is of no ſervice unleſs they can hold out their long ſpears like a rampart before their bucklers, and this they cannot do but in plain ground. Beſides the boughs hindered the Thracians from wielding their huge long two edged ſwords. The Cretans were the only corps that could act. But though they could throw their darts and wound either horſe or man, who advanced uncovered and expoſed, yet where they had to do with Romans, whoſe bucklers covered them, their darts were not ſtrong enough to penetrate theſe, nor were their bodies any way expoſed. So finding their ordinary arms uſeleſs, they annoy'd the enemy from all parts of the rampart with ſtones. When the Romans came under the entrenchments, the rattling of the ſtones on their bucklers, rather then their weight, intimidated them for a while. But ſoon deſpiſing them, they formed a tortoiſe and advanced againſt the enemy. Some of them having fetched a compaſs and gain'd the top of the hill, drove the Macedonians in great confuſion from their poſts, killing moſt of them, as it was difficult to fly in theſe woody places. CHAP. XXXIX.

HAVING forced this paſs with much leſs fighting than they expected, they arrived in Eordæa, where having ravaged all the country, they fell down on Elymea[a]. Then they penetrated into Oreſtides[b], and attacked Celetrum[c], a town ſituated on a peniuſula. It is ſurrounded by a lake, and is only acceſſible by a narrow iſthmus. The inhabitants, relying on their ſituation, at firſt ſhut their gates, and re- CHAP. XL.

[a] Bordered upon *Pelagonia*, *Eordea* and the *Deuropes*. [b] Now a part of *Canina*. [c] Bordering on the former and *Eordea*.

CHAP. XL. fused to submit. But when they saw the ensigns advance, the Romans approaching the gates in form of a tortoise, and the isthmus blocked up by armed men, they surrendered through fear without striking a blow. From Celetrum he advanced to the country of the Dessaretæ, and took Pellius[a] by storm. He carry'd hence the slaves and other booty, and dismissed the persons of free condition without ransom, restoring them their city in which he left a strong garison, as it was conveniently situated, and a key to Macedonia. Having thus traversed the enemy's country, he return'd into places already subjected about Apollonia, from whence he had first set out. The hostilities of the Ætolians, Athamanians and Dardans, and many other wars that had suddenly broke out against Philip in different places, diverted his arms another way. Against the Dardans, who were already retiring out of Macedonia, he detached Athenagoras with the light infantry and greatest part of the cavalry, with orders to pursue them closely, and by harassing their rear drive them with all expedition into their own country. The prætor Damocritus, who in the former diet at Naupactus advised the Ætolians to defer their deliberations about the war, had in the next instigated them to take up arms, upon the news of the defeat of Philip's horse at Octolophus, and the invasion of Macedonia by the Dardans and Pleuratus, and the Illyrians; also the arrival of the Roman fleet at Oreos, and, besides all the nations that had poured in upon Macedonia by land, it's being threatened with descents by sea.

CHAP. XLI. THESE motives induced Damocritus and the Ætolians to return to their alliance with Rome. Accordingly, in conjunction with Amynander king of the Athamanians, they laid siege to Cercinium[b]. The inhabitants had shut their gates; but as the king had a garison in the town, it is uncertain whether they did it by compulsion or voluntarily. However

[a] Situated on the extremities of the *lago del l'Acrida*. [b] Stood at the foot of mount *Ossa*, near the lake *Bœbeis*, between *Scotussa*, and the *Macedonian* sea.

it

it was taken in a few days, and reduced to aſhes. All who ſurvived the flames, both freemen and ſlaves, were carry'd off with the other booty. The fate of this city ſo terrified all the other people round the Bœbeis [a], that they abandoned their towns and retired to the mountains. Thus for want of booty in a deſerted country the Ætolians turned aſide to Perrhœbia [b]. There they took Cyretiæ [c] by ſtorm, and raſed it in a moſt inhuman manner. The inhabitants of Mallæa [d] ſurrendered voluntarily and were received into their alliance. By Amynander's advice they went from Perrhœbia to Gomphi [e]. It lay near Athamania, and they would not have found great difficulty to have taken it. But the Ætolians choſe rather to go and pillage the fertile plains of Theſſaly. Amynander indeed followed them, but did not approve the expedition, their outragious ravages, and encamping on any ground they came to by accident, without any precaution or apprehenſion of danger. Therefore, that neither he or his army might be involved in any misfortune by their temerity and negligence, when he ſaw them encamping in an open plain near Phæcadum [f], he poſted himſelf on an eminence about 500 paces from them, which proved but a ſmall defence. While they, except by their ravages, ſeemed not to remember they were in an enemies country, ſome rambling up and down half armed, and others ſleeping or carouſing night and day in their camp without guards, Philip ſurprized them. Upon the firſt alarm of his coming, which was given by ſome ſtragglers who fled back from the fields, Damocritus and the other generals were ſtruck with a panic. It happened to be noon day, when moſt of them ſurcharged with eating had lain down to ſleep. One awaked another,

CHAP. XLI.

[a] Now *Eſero.*

[b] On the eaſt of *Pelaſgiotis*, and near mount *Olympus.*

[c] At the conflux of the *Pamiſus* and *Pineus.*

[d] Near mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylæ.*

[e] Between the ſprings of *Pamiſus* and *Jon.*

[f] A city of *Theſſaly*, between mount *Pendus* and the river *Peneus.*

ſome were ordered to take their arms, and others detached to recal the ravagers, who were ranging over the country for booty. They were in ſo great confuſion, that many of the troopers went out without their ſwords or helmets. All they could rally was 600 men, horſe and foot, and marching out in this precipitate manner, they fell in with the king's cavalry, which were much ſuperior in reſpect of numbers, courage and arms. In conſequence they were routed at the firſt charge, and almoſt without ſtriking a blow fled ſhamefully to their camp. Several, who were cut off from the body of fugitives, were either ſlain or taken priſoners.

CHAP. XLII. PHILIP ordered a retreat to be ſounded as his men were advancing to aſſualt the lines. He conſidered both men and horſes were fatigued, not ſo much with the battle as with their long and expeditious march; and therefore ordered them to give their horſes drink and take ſome refreſhment for themſelves, the cavalry in troops, and the light foot in companies by turns. Some remained on guard, waiting for the coming up of the heavy armed infantry, whoſe arms had hindered them from marching faſt. As ſoon as they arrived, he ordered them to plant their colors and their arms before them, and refreſh themſelves as faſt as they could, ſending out only two or at moſt three of every company to fetch water. In the mean time the horſe and light foot ſtood under arms prepared againſt any motion of the enemy. The Ætolians, who had been diſperſed through the fields, were by this time returned to the camp, and poſted themſelves on the rampart and round the gates, as if they would have defended it. As long as the enemy remained quiet, they made a ſtout appearance. But when they ſaw the Macedonian enſigns in motion, and their troops advancing to the lines in order of battle, they abandoned their poſts, and running out at the back part, fled to the Athamanian camp which was on the hill. However even in this precipitate

cipitate flight many were killed and many taken pri- CHAP.
ſoners. Philip did not queſtion, that he would have XLII.
taken that camp alſo, if he had had ſufficient day
light: but the greateſt part of the day having paſ-
ſed during the action and rifling the Ætolian camp,
he entrenched himſelf in the plain near the foot of
the hill, reſolving to attack the enemy by day break
next morning. But the Ætolians during the night
fled in as great conſternation as they had quitted their
lines in the day. In this retreat Amynander was of
great ſervice to them. For as the Athamanians were
well acquainted with the country, he led them along
the tops of the hills by byeways unknown to the e-
nemy till he brought them into Ætolia. Only a few
miſtook their way in this precipitate retreat, and
ſtumbled upon the Macedonian cavalry, whom Phi-
lip at break of day, perceiving the hill abandoned,
detached to haraſs the enemy's rear.

IN the mean time Athenagoras, one of the king's CHAP.
generals, came up with the Dardans as they were XLIII.
retreating into their own country. At firſt he only
annoy'd their rear, but they facing about brought on
a general action without advantage to either ſide.
But the latter no ſooner began to march again, than
the king's cavalry and light armed foot, having the
advantage of the ground, fell upon them who had
no light troops, but were encumbered with their
heavy arms. However as they fought in cloſe bat-
talia retreating, and without quitting their ranks, very
few were killed, more wounded, and not one of them
taken priſoners. Thus by expeditions, bold in the
undertaking and ſucceſsful in the event, againſt theſe
two nations, Philip recompenſed the loſſes he had
ſuffered by the Romans. Another incident in his
favor leſſened the number of the Ætolians. Scopas,
the chief of their nation, having been ſent by Pto-
lemy from Alexandria with a great ſum of money to
raiſe mercenaries, carry'd 6000 foot and horſe with
him into Ægypt. Neither had he left a ſoldier in
Ætolia, had not Damocritus reſtrained ſome from

going by menaces, ſometimes admoniſhing them of the impending war, and at others of the future deſolation of their country. However it is uncertain whether he did this from a regard to his nation or oppoſition to Scopas, who had not made him large enough preſents. Thus much concerning the exploits of Philip and the Romans during that campaign.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE Roman admiral L. Apuſtius ſet ſail from Corcyra early in the Spring, and having doubled cape Malio, joined king Attalus at Hermione [a] near cape Scylla. In hopes of this aid ſo near at hand, the Athenians gave an extravagant looſe to their reſentments againſt Philip, which they had long reſtrained through fear. There are never wanting in that city orators, who by their eloquent harangues can excite the populace to whatever meaſures they pleaſe. As in all free ſtates men of this complexion command the favor of the multitude, ſo do they in a more particular manner at Athens, where eloquence governs every thing. They immediately made a motion to the people, which they agreed to, 'That all the ſtatues, pictures and inſcriptions in honor of Philip and his anceſtors, both male and female, ſhould be effaced and deſtroy'd; their feſtivals aboliſhed, altars broken down, and prieſts degraded: and that all the places where any thing in honor of them was ſet up or inſcribed, ſhould be unhallowed, and for the future nothing, which it was lawful to erect or dedicate in any ſacred place, ſhould be ſet up or conſecrated in them. As often as the public prieſts pray'd for the Athenians, their allies, armies and fleets, they ſhould pronounce curſes againſt Philip, his children, his kingdom, his ſea and land forces, and all the race and name of the Macedonians.' They added, 'That whatever mark of ignominy any one afterwards ſhould propoſe to ſtamp upon Philip, all the people of Athens ſhould conſent to it; and it ſhould be law-

[a] A city on the coaſt of *Argolis*.

ful

'ful for any one to kill him who ſhould ſay or do any 'thing in honor of him, or oppoſe laying a mark of 'infamy upon him.' And concluded, 'that all 'things that had formerly been decreed againſt the 'poſterity of Piſiſtratus, ſhould be obſerved with 'regard to Philip.' Thus the Athenians made war upon the Macedonian by words and writings, in which their only ſtrength lay.

CHAP. XLV.

ATTALUS and the Roman ſailed from Hermione to Pireæus. They ſtay'd here but a few days, in which time the Athenians beſtowed honors on them in as profuſe a manner, as they had before vented their malice againſt their enemy. From Pireæus they ſailed to Andros. Having entered the port called Gaurelion [a], they detached perſons to ſound the inhabitants whether they would ſurrender voluntarily, or hazard an aſſault. But being anſwered they were not their own maſters, as a gariſon of the king's was in the place, Attalus and the Romans landed their troops with all the apparatus for a ſiege, and approached the place on different quarters. What terrified the Greeks moſt, was the Roman enſigns, which were a new ſight to them, and the ardor with which the ſoldiers advanced. Accordingly they immediately fled to the citadel, leaving the enemy free in poſſeſſion of the city. They held out the citadel two days more by it's natural ſtrength, than force of arms, and on the third capitulated, that they and the gariſon ſhould be tranſported with a garment apiece to Delium of Bœotia [b]. The Romans gave the city to king Attalus, but carried away the booty and decorations belonging to it. Not to leave the iſland uninhabited, Attalus perſuaded almoſt all the Macedonians and ſeveral of the Andrians, to ſtay. Afterwards thoſe who were tranſported to Delium, according to the articles of capitulation, returned, being induced by Attalus's promiſes, which a deſire to ſee their native country, more eaſily inclined them to rely on. From Andros the com-

[a] Or *Gaurium*. [b] On the coaſt of *Bœotia* oppoſite to the *Euripus*.

bined

CHAP. XLV.

bined fleets ſailed to Cythnos [c]. There they ſpent ſeveral days in attacking the city to no purpoſe, and then quitted the enterprize, not thinking it worth their while. At Praſias, a town on the continent of Attica, 20 frigates from Iſſa [d] joined the Roman fleet. Them the admiral detached to make a deſcent for plunder on the territories of the Caryſtii [e]. The reſt of the fleet ſtaid at Geræſtum [f], till the Iſſæans ſhould return from Caryſtos. From thence they made all the ſail they could by Scyros [g], and ſtood in for the iſland of Icus [h]. There they were detained ſeveral days by a violent north wind. As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, they ſtood away for Scyathos, a city which Philip had lately plundered and demoliſhed. The ſoldiers ranged over the fields in queſt of corn, or any other proviſions, in order to ſupply the fleet. But no booty was to be found, neither did the Grecians deſerve to be plundered. From thence they ſailed for Caſſandrea [i], and arrived firſt at Mendis a village ſubject to that city. But as they were doubling the cape in order to come up to the walls of the city, a ſudden ſtorm aroſe in which they almoſt periſhed. They were all diſperſed, yet moſt of them after loſing their rigging got ſafe to land. This misfortune at ſea was an omen of another at land. For having got their fleet together, they landed their troops and attacked the city, but were repulſed with great loſs by the Macedonian gariſon, which was very ſtrong. Having thus miſſed their aim, they ſailed back to Canaſtrum [k] a city of Pallene [l]. Then having doubled the cape of Canaſtrum, they appeared off Acanthus [m]. Here they firſt ravaged the lands, and then took and demoliſhed the city. They went no farther; for their ſhips being overloaded with booty they returned to Scyathos, and from thence to Eubœa.

[c] One of the ſouthmoſt of the *Cyclades*.
[d] Now *Liſſa* in the *Adriatic* ſea.
[e] In *Eubœa*.
[f] *Gereſto* in *Negropont*.
[g] Now *Scyro* in the *Ægean* ſea over-againſt *Negropont*.
[h] In the ſame ſea near *Peparethos*.
[i] In the *Thermaic* gulph.
[k] Near the former, in the *Toronic* gulph.
[l] Now *Patilena*.
[m] Now *Eriſſo*, near *Singium*, on the gulph of *Strymon* in *Macedonia*.

THERE

CHAP. XLVI.

THERE Attalus and the Roman admiral left the fleet and entered the Malaic gulph with ten frigates to confer with the Ætolians about the operations of the campaign. Sipyrrhicas was at the head of the Ætolian deputies who came to deliberate with them at Heraclea. He thought Attalus ought to oblige himself to furniſh them 1000 men in the war againſt Philip, and demanded them. That king refuſed, becauſe when Philip was burning every thing ſacred and profane round Pergamos, they ſcrupled to make an incurſion into Macedonia to draw the Macedonian home to protect his own kingdom. The Romans made them many fair promiſes and diſmiſſed them rather with hopes than real aſſiſtance. Attalus and Apuſtius returned to the fleet and began to deliberate about beſieging Oreos. It's walls were very ſtrong, and as an attempt had been made on it before, a ſtrong gariſon had been ſent to it. After the taking Andros, Ageſimbrotus, the Rhodian admiral had joined them with 20 decked ſhips. Theſe they ſtationed at Phalaſia [a], a promontory of Iſtia [b] above Demetrias, very convenient for obſerving the motions of the Macedonian fleet. Here Heraclides Philip's admiral lay with his fleet, waiting if the enemy would give him an opportunity to attack them off their guard, for he durſt not do it by open force. Attalus and the Romans attacked Oreos on different quarters; the latter lay before the citadel next the ſea, and the king to batter the wall that joined the two citadels from the valley. As they had different poſts ſo they purſued the ſiege in a different manner. The Romans approached it under mantelets and galleries with battering rams, and the Pergamenians with balliſtæ, catapultæ, and all other kinds of miſſile engines. They threw ſtones of vaſt weight, dug mines, and tried every method that had ſucceded in the former ſiege. The preſent gariſon which defended the citadel and town was not more numerous than for-

[a] On the eaſt coaſt of *Eubœa*, over-againſt *Oreos*. [b] On the ſame coaſt oppoſite to *Demetrias*.

merly;

CHAP. XLVI.

merly; but they exerted themſelves with greater vigor becauſe the king had ſharply reprimanded them for their former fault; beſides their valor was increaſed by his menaces and promiſes, ſo that the beſieged had little hopes of taking it ſoon. In conſequence the Roman admiral, that he might do ſome ſervice elſewhere, left as many troops as were neceſſary for finiſhing the works for a blocade, and paſſed over to the neareſt place of the continent. He ſurprized Lariſſa and became maſter of it all except the citadel. It was not the famous Lariſſa in Theſſaly, but another called Cremaſte [c]. King Attalus alſo ſurprized Ægeleon [d], which expected nothing leſs than to be attacked by thoſe who were beſieging another town. As the works before Oreos were finiſhed, ſo the gariſon within was quite exhauſted with uninterrupted fatigue, watching both day and night, and grievous wounds. By the battering of the rams alſo the wall was ſo ſhattered, that it fell down in many places. The Romans by night broke into the citadel by a breach that had been made above the port. At day break they gave a ſignal from it to Attalus, who entered the breaches made by ſapping the walls. The gariſon and inhabitants retired to the other citadel, but ſurrendered two days after. They yielded the city to Attalus and their perſons to the Romans.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE autumnal equinox was already approaching, and it was dangerous ſailing in that gulph of Eubœa called Cœla. Deſiring therefore to get out of it before the winter ſtorms came on, they ſailed back to Pireæus from whence they had ſet out. There Apuſtius left 30 ſhips, and with the reſt doubling cape Malio, ſailed to Corcyra. Attalus ſtay'd behind to be preſent at the feſtival in honor of Ceres. When it was ended he returned to Aſia. Ageſimbrotis and the Rhodians ſailed home. Thus much concerning the ſucceſſes of the conſul and admiral aſſiſted by Attalus and the Rhodians, againſt Philip, both by ſea and land. The other conſul, C. Aurelius, having

[c] *Larizzo* the capital of *Pelaſgiotis*, ſituated on the banks of the *Peneus*.
[d] Near cape *Leon*, on the weſt coaſt of *Negropont*.

arrived in his province after the war was terminated, could not conceal his reſentment againſt the prætor for fighting in his abſence. Wherefore he detached him into Hetruria, and marched himſelf with the legions into the enemy's country, and by his ravages got more booty than glory. L. Furius finding there was nothing to do in Hetruria, and deſiring to have a triumph for his ſucceſs in Gaul, imagined he would obtain it with leſs difficulty in the abſence of the conſul, who was highly incenſed againſt him and envy'd his glory. Accordingly he ſet out for the city, and arrived there when leaſt expected. He had audience of the ſenate in the temple of Bellona, and after giving a detail of his tranſactions, demanded permiſſion to enter the city in triumph. CHAP. XLVII.

THE important ſervice he had performed, and the favor many of the ſenators had for him, ſtrengthened his cauſe. But the moſt venerable of that body denied his requeſt, becauſe he had acted at the head of another general's army, and left his province through an eager deſire to ſeize a proper opportunity of obtaining a triumph: They urged beſides that there was no precedent of one's triumphing in his circumſtances. Thoſe who had born the conſular office inſiſted, that he ought to have waited the arrival of the conſul. He might have encamped his army near Cremona, and defended the colony ſo as not to have given battle, till his arrival. What the prætor had not done, the ſenate ought: wait the arrival of the conſul; and they would be better enabled to judge of the matter when they had heard him and the conſul face to face. Many were of opinion that the ſenate ought to ſhew no regard to any thing but the actions themſelves, and whether he had performed them as a chief magiſtrate, and under his own auſpices. 'When, 'ſaid they, one of the two colonies, which had been 'ſettled as barriers to reſtrain the incurſions of the 'Gauls, was plundered and burnt, and the ſame flame 'like to reach the other, which was ſo near that they 'looked like adjoining houſes, what courſe could the CHAP. XLVIII.

'prætor

CHAP. XLVIII.

'prætor have taken? If he ought to have done no-
'thing without the conſul, either the ſenate was to
'blame for giving the prætor the command of the
'army; (for if they had intended, that a conſular,
'not a prætorian, ſhould be ſent on that expedition,
'they ſhould have paſſed their decree accordingly)
'or the conſul, who, when he ordered the army out
'of Hetruria into Gaul, ought to have met it at A-
'riminum, that he might have been in perſon in a
'battle, which it was not lawful to fight without him.
'The exigencies of war do not wait the politic eva-
'ſions and delays of generals; beſides the enemy
'often forces one to a battle againſt his will. They
'ought to conſider the battle itſelf and the iſſue of
'it; the enemy had been routed and all cut to
'pieces; their camp had been taken and rifled; the
'ſiege of one colony raiſed, the priſoners of the o-
'ther recovered and reſtored to their city; in ſhort
'the war terminated by that ſingle action. Men not
'only expreſſed their joy for this victory, but thankſ-
'givings had been appointed to the immortal Gods
'for three days, not becauſe the prætor L. Furius
'had engaged raſhly and been beaten, but becauſe
'he had acted prudently and gained a complete
'victory. Beſides the war with the Gauls fell by
'a kind of infallible deſtiny to the race of the
'Furii.'

CHAP. XLIX.

BY theſe remonſtrances, urged by himſelf and his friends, the majeſty of the abſent conſul was conquered by the regard ſhewn to the prætor. A full ſenate decreed a triumph to Furius. In conſequence he enjoy'd that honor: He carry'd into the treaſury 320000 aſſes of braſs, and 170000 pound weight of ſilver. In the proceſſion were no priſoners, no booty no ſoldiers. By this it appeared that every thing except victory alone belong'd to the conſul. Then the games which P. Scipio vowed when conſul in Africa were celebrated with great pomp and magnifence. A decree likewiſe paſſed in favor of his ſoldiers, that each of them ſhould have two acres of land for every year

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he had ſerved in Spain or Africa. C. Terentius Varro, L. Quinctius Flaminius, and P. Corn. Scipio ſon of Cneius were appointed to recruit the number of the colony at Venuſia, which had been greatly diminiſhed during the Carthaginian war. Accordingly they levy'd and carry'd them thither. In the ſame year C. Cornelius Cethegus, the proconſul in Spain, defeated a great army of Spaniards in the territories of the Sedetani. It is ſaid, that 15000 of them were killed, and 78 ſtandards taken. When the conſul Aurelius arrived from his province at Rome to preſide at the elections, he did not complain, as was generally expected, 'that the ſenate had not 'waited for him, and given him an opportunity of 'debating the matter with the prætor; but had ap-'pointed the triumph in ſuch a manner, that only 'he who was to enjoy that honor, and none of thoſe 'who were preſent in the battle, were heard. 'Whereas their anceſtors had ſolemnly enacted, that 'the lieutenant generals, legionary tribunes, centu-'rions, nay even the ſoldiers ſhould be preſent, that 'public teſtimony might be given to the reality of 'the exploits, for which ſo great an honor was con-'fer'd. But had there been one ſoldier, nay a knap-'ſack boy on the ſpot, of whom the ſenate could 'have enquired concerning the truth or falſhood of 'what the prætor alledged?'

CHAP. XLIX.

THEN he appointed the day of elections. The faſces were transfer'd to L. Cornelius, and P. Villius Tappulus. Then L. Quinctius Flaminius, L. Val. Flaccus, L. Villius Tappulus, and Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus were choſen prætors. Corn was exceding cheap this year. The curule ædiles M. Claud. Marcellus and Sex. Ælius Pætus brought a great quantity from Africa and ſold it to the people at two aſſes a modii. They alſo exhibited the Roman games with great pomp, twice over, and placed in the treaſury ſome ſtatues of braſs made of the money taken for fines. The plebeian games were exhibited twice over by their ædiles L. Terentius Maſſa and Cn. Bœbius Tamphilus, prætor

CHAP. L.

CHAP. L.

elect. Funeral games were alſo exhibited in the forum for four days in honor of M. Valerius Lævinus by his two ſons, P. and M. together with a combat of gladiators, in which twenty five couple fought. M. Aurelius Cotta, keeper of the ſacred books, died, and M. Acilius Glabrio was choſen in his room. In the election of curule ædiles the comitia pitched on two men, who could not preſently enter upon the office. One of them, Cethegus, was abſent in Spain, and the other C. Val. Flaccus, who was on the ſpot, could not take the uſual oath, becauſe he was prieſt of Jupiter, and he who did not take them could not hold a magiſtracy above five days. Flaccus petitioned, that the law might be diſpenſed with. In conſequence they paſſed a decree, that if the ædile procured another perſon, with whom the conſuls ſhould be pleaſed, to take the oaths for him, then the conſuls, if they thought fit, ſhould move the tribunes to lay the matter before the people. L. Valerius, the prætor elect, offer'd to be his brother's proxy. The tribunes made the motion to the people, who ordain'd, that taking the oath by proxy ſhould be as valid as if the ædile had ſworn himſelf. With regard to the other ædile, the tribunes moved the people, and they ordain'd, that ſince it was neceſſary Cethegus ſhould return from Spain to execute his office, and Acidinus had quitted the province many years before, two generals ſhould be ſent to command the army there. Accordingly they ſent Cn. Corn. Lentulus, and L. Stertinius in quality of proconſuls.

BOOK XXXII.

Accounts of many prodigies from different parts of the country; among which a laurel ſprings up on the poop of a Roman galley in Macedonia. The conſul T. Quinctius Flamininus defeats Philip at the ſtreights of Epirus, and obliges him to retire into his own kingdom. The conſul, and his allies the Ætolians and Athamanians, haraſs Theſſaly. His brother Lucius, with the help of king Attalus and the Rhodians, by a victory at ſea, becomes maſter of Eubœa and the ſea coaſt. An alliance made with the Achæans. A conſpiracy of the ſlaves to releaſe the Carthaginian priſoners, quaſhed. The number of prætors encreaſed to ſix. The conſul Cethegus routs the Inſubrian Gauls. A league made with the Spartans, and their tyrant Nabis. Beſides here is an account of the ſieges of the Macedonian cities.

CHAP. I.

P. Villius Tapulus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus, conſuls. Y. of R. 553. B. J. C. 199.

ON the 15th of march the conſuls and prætors entered upon their offices, and drew lots for their provinces. Lentulus got Italy, and Villius, Macedonia. Quinctius got the juriſdiction of the city; Bæbius, Ariminum; Valerius, Sicily; and L. Villius, Sardinia. The conſul Lentulus was ordered to levy new legions, and Villius to receive the army from P. Sulpicius, with permiſſion to raiſe what recruits it wanted. Bæbius was appointed to command the two legions that ſerved under the late conſul Aurelius, and ſtay with them in Gaul, till the conſul ſhould relieve him with the new army. But as ſoon as he arrived he was to diſcharge all the army except 5000 allies, which would be ſufficient for the defence of the province about Ariminum. The prætors of the former year were continued in commiſſion. C. Sergius was ordered to aſſign lands to the ſoldiers, who had ſerved long in Spain, Sicily and Sardinia. Q. Minucius was ordered to complete the enquiry, which he had carry'd on with great diligence and fidelity, concerning a conſpiracy in Bruttium; to ſend thoſe he found guilty of robbing the temple of Proſerpine, and had ſent to Rome in chains, to Locri to be puniſhed; and to take care

CHAP. I. to replace the things ſtoln out of her temple with expiatory ſacrifices. The Feriæ Latinæ were celebrated over again by direction of the pontiffs, becauſe deputies from Ardea complained in ſenate, that their people had not got their portion of the fleſh on mount Alba as uſual. Word was brought from Sueſſa, that two gates and the wall reaching between them had been ſtruck with lightning: The ſame misfortune happened to Jupiter's temples at Formiæ and Oſtia, and to Apollo's and Sangus's at Velitræ: a buſh of hair ſprung up in the temple of Hercules. The pro-prætor Minucius wrote from Bruttium that a colt was foal'd with five feet, and three chickens hatched with three feet apiece. After that Sulpicius the pro-conſul wrote from Macedonia, among other things, that a laurel had ſprung up in the poop of one of the ſhips of war. With reſpect to the former prodigies, the ſenate decreed, that the conſuls ſhould offer the larger ſacrifices to what Gods they pleaſed: for the latter, the haruſpices were conſulted in the ſenate; and in conſequence a ſupplication for one day, and proceſſions to all the ſhrines in the city, were made.

CHAP. II. THIS year the Carthaginians brought the firſt payment of the tribute impoſed on them to Rome. But upon complaint from the queſtors that the money was bad, and that a fourth part of it, when melted in the furnace, was alloy, they were obliged to borrow at Rome to make good the deficiency. Upon their humble petition that the ſenate would reſtore them their hoſtages, 100 were ſent back with them, and they had hopes of receiving the reſt, in caſe they perſevered in their fidelity. Thoſe hoſtages that were not reſtored petitioned that they might be removed from Norba, an incommodious place, to ſome other city: Their requeſt was granted, and they were ſent to Segnia and Ferentinum. The petition of the Gadetani was granted, that a Roman governor ſhould not be ſent to their city, becauſe contrary to the agreement they made with L. Marcius

cius Septimus, when they put themſelves under the protection of the Romans. As deputies from the colony of Narnia complained, that they had not a ſufficient number of citizens to people their lands, and that certain foreigners were mixed with them, the conſul Cornelius was ordered to appoint a triumvirate to regulate theſe matters. The three commiſſioners were P. and Sex. Ælius, both ſurnam'd Pætus, and Cornelius Lentulus. But the ſame petition from the Coſani was rejected.

CHAP. III.

THE affairs neceſſary to be tranſacted in the city being all finiſhed, the conſuls ſet out for their provinces. P. Villius, on his arrival in Macedonia, found a mutiny of the ſoldiers which had broke out before, and had not been carefully enough cruſhed in the bud. There were theſe 2000 veterans who, after the defeat of Hannibal, had been ſent from Afric into Sicily, and from thence about a year after into Macedonia, as volunteers. They now inſiſted that it was not a voluntary act of theirs, 'for their 'tribunes had put them on board the tranſports con-'trary to their own inclination. But whether they 'ſerved willingly or unwillingly, it was reaſonable 'that they ſhould enjoy ſome repoſe from the fa-'tigues of war, and be diſmiſſed the ſervice. They 'had not ſeen Italy for many years. They had 'grown white under arms in Sicily, Africa and Ma-'cedonia. They were worn out with fatigue and 'toil, and feeble with loſs of blood.' The conſul owned 'that their demand was reaſonable, if they 'had made it in a decent manner: but neither that 'nor any other cauſe could juſtify a mutiny. There-'fore if they would ſtay by their colors, and ſubmit 'to command, he would write to the ſenate for their 'diſcharge. And they might be aſſured they would 'ſooner gain their point by gentle methods, than by 'mutiny and refractorineſs.'

CHAP. IV.

PHILIP was then beſieging Thaumacus, with the utmoſt vigor, having raiſed mounts and erected galleries againſt it: nay was on the point of battering

CHAP. IV.

it with rams. But the ſudden arrival of the Ætolians obliged him to abandon that enterprize. Under the conduct of Archidamus they forced their way through the Macedonian guards and got into the town, from whence they never ceaſed, night or day, ſallying ſometimes upon the enemies advanced guards and ſometimes upon their works. The natural ſituation of the place was of great ſervice to them. The town ſtood on an eminence on the road from Thermopylæ and the Malaic gulph towards Lamia[a], and commanded the paſs called Cœle. The road to Theſſaly is extremely rugged and winding, till you come to the city, when all of a ſudden opens to view a plain, like a vaſt ſea, ſo large that one can hardly ſee to the extremity of it. Hence the town is called Thaumacus or PRODIGIOUS. The chief ſtrength of this city is not ſo much it's height, as that it ſtands upon a high rock divided from other precipices near it. Theſe difficulties, and the conſideration, that the place was not worth the fatigue and danger muſt be undergone to take it, induced the king to raiſe the ſiege. Beſides when he quitted it, winter was approaching, ſo he led his troops back into Macedonia.

CHAP. V.

THERE every body elſe employ'd this interval of quiet, in recruiting both their bodies and ſpirits; but Philip, though he now enjoy'd ſome reſpite from his continual fatigue of marching and fighting, was more anxiouſly ſolicitous about the iſſue of the war: he was not only afraid of the enemy who preſſed him vigorouſly both by ſea and land, but of the affection of his allies and ſubjects, leſt the firſt in hopes of a better alliance, and the laſt from a fondneſs for novelty, ſhould go over to the Romans. He therefore ſent ambaſſadors to the Achæans, to require a new ratification of the treaty of alliance, which according to ſtipulation was to be renew'd every year; and at the ſame time reſtore them Orchomenos[b], Heræa[c], and Triphylia[d]. He alſo reſtored Aliphe-

[a] Now *Lamina*, a city of *Theſſaly*.
[b] In *Arcadia*, near mount *Parthe*
[c] Now *Ravoli*, in the ſame country.
[d] See vol. IV.

ra[a] to the Megalopolitans, who inſiſted, that it never belonged to Triphylia, but ought to be reſtored to them; becauſe it was one of thoſe cities which in the diet of the Arcadians had contributed to the building of Megalopolis. By this means he confirmed his alliance with the Achæans. He reconciled the Macedonians by ſacrificing Heraclides: for perceiving that he was become very odious on his account, and that he was accuſed of many crimes, he put him in irons to gratify his ſubjects. Then he made preparations for the war with greater application than ever, and conſtantly exerciſed in the field both his Macedonians and mercenaries. Early in the ſpring he detached Athenagoras with all his foreign auxiliaries and light troops to ſeize the narrow paſſes of Chaonia, near Antigonia, and called by the Greeks Stena, on the weſt of Epirus. In a few days he followed in perſon with his heavy troops. After he had viewed all the ground of that diſtrict, he pitched upon that near the Aoüs[b] as the propereſt to encamp on. This river runs in a narrow valley between two mountains, the one call'd Æropus and the other[c] Aſnaüs: the road between the river and the hills is very ſtreight. He ordered Athenagoras with the light troops to encamp on Aſnaüs, as he himſelf did on Æropus. Where they were ſecured by craggy rocks he poſted a few guards, but where they were more acceſſible, he drew lines and erected towers. He alſo diſpoſed, in proper places, vaſt quantities of engines from which he might annoy the enemy. He took up his own quarters on the moſt conſpicuous eminence, in order to terrify the enemy, and by this bravado inſpire his own troops with hopes of ſucceſs.

CHAP. V.

THE conſul, who was in his winter quarters at Corcyra, was informed by Charops an Epirote, that the king had encamped in theſe paſſes: ſo as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, he paſſed over to the

CHAP. VI.

[a] On the confines of *Elis*, on the banks of the *Alpheus*.

[b] Now *Polina*, riſes in *Pindus*, and falls into the *Adriatic* gulph below *Apollonia*.

[c] Theſe two mountains ſeem to be branches of the *Pindus*.

CHAP. VI. continent, and advanced towards the enemy. When he was within five miles of them he left his legions in a ſecure poſt, and went with the light troops to reconnoitre their entrenchments. Next day he called a council of war, to deliberate, whether it would be better to force a paſſage through the defile poſſeſſed by the enemy, which would be attended with great difficulty and danger, or march about and enter Macedon, the ſame way that Sulpicius had done laſt year. It was not determined in ſeveral days, and in the mean time advice arrived, that the conſul Flamininus, to whom the province of Macedonia had faln by lot, was haſtening thither, and already arrived at Corcyra. Valerius Antias ſays that Villius entered the paſs, and becauſe he could not take the direct road through, as all the poſts were poſſeſſed by the king's troops, he kept the track of the valley through which the Aoüs runs, and having ſuddenly laid a bridge acroſs it, paſſed over to that ſide where the king was: that he routed the king and took his camp: that 12000 of the enemy were killed, 2200 with 132 ſtandards and 230 horſe taken; and laſtly that he vow'd a temple to Jupiter during the battle in caſe he got the victory. All other Greek and Latin hiſtorians, whom I have read, mention no memorable action performed by Villius, who left the war entire to his ſucceſſor Quinctius.

CHAP. VII. DURING theſe tranſactions in Macedonia, the other conſul, who remained at Rome, held the comitia for election of cenſors. There were many candidates of diſtinction, but P. Cornelius Africanus, and P. Ælius Pætus were raiſed to that dignity. They acted with great harmony, and did not ſtigmatize one ſenator: they alſo farmed out the toll upon all merchandize brought into Capua, Puteoli, and the camp before the latter, which is now converted into a city: and laſt of all ſent 300 inhabitants thither, which was the number limited by the ſenate, and ſold the Capuan fields that lay at the foot of mount Tifata. At the ſame time M. Porcius Læca, tribune

of

of the people, prevented L. Manlius Acidinus from entering the city in an ovation, though the ſenate had granted him permiſſion to do ſo on his return from Spain: ſo he entered the city in a private capacity, and carry'd into the treaſury 1200 pound weight of ſilver and near 30 of gold. The ſame year Cn. Bæbius Tamphilus, who had ſucceded Aurelius, conſul of the preceding year, in the command of Gaul, raſhly entered the territories of the Inſubrians, where his whole army was ſurrounded and he loſt above 6600 men. Thus did the Romans meet with a great defeat in a war, that they contemned. This incident obliged L. Lentulus the conſul to take the field. When he arrived in the province he found it all up in arms, and having taken the terrified army from the prætor, he reprimanded him ſeverely, and ordered him to quit the province and return to Rome. The conſul himſelf performed nothing memorable, having been recalled to hold the comitia for the election of conſuls. M. Fulvius and Manius Curius hindered the tribes from voting, becauſe T. Quinctius Flamininus appeared as a candidate immediately after he had been queſtor. 'The 'ædileſhip and prætorſhip, ſaid they, are already 'deſpiſed. Noblemen now adays do not riſe to the 'conſulate by the regular ſteps of other offices, but 'leaping over thoſe between, attain the higheſt im-'mediately after the loweſt.' Theſe diſputes, which happened in the comitia, were refer'd to the ſenate, who declar'd 'it reaſonable, that the people ſhould 'raiſe to dignities whom they pleaſed, provided the 'candidate was not incapacitated to hold the office 'by law.' The tribunes ſubmitted to the determination of the fathers. In conſequence Sex. Ælius Pætus, and T. Quinctius Flamininus were elected conſuls. Then L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, and C. Helvius, who had been plebeian ædiles, were choſen prætors. They renewed the Roman games in which was celebrated a feſtival to Jupiter. The curule ædiles, C. Val. CHAP. VII.

Flaccus, prieſt of Jupiter, and C. Cornelius Cethegus, celebrated the Roman games with great magnificence. Ser. Sulpicius and L. Galba both pontiffs, died this year. In their ſtead were choſen M. Æmilius Lepidus, and Cn. Cornelius Scipio.

CHAP. VIII.

P. Ælius Pætus, and T. Quinct. Flamininus, conſuls. Y. of R. 554. B. J. C. 198.

ÆLIUS and Flamininus, having entered upon their office, aſſembled the ſenate in the capitol, where the fathers, determined, 'that they ſhould 'draw lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedo-'nia. Whichever of them ſhould get Macedonia, 'ſhould levy 3000 Roman foot, 300 horſe, 5000 'Latine foot, and 500 horſe as an addition to the 'troops already there.' The other conſul had all the new raiſed army. Lentulus, the preceding conſul, was continued in command, and forbidden to quit the province himſelf, or withdraw the old army, till the conſul ſhould arrive with the new. Ælius got Italy by lot and Quinctius Macedonia. Of the prætors, Merula got the juriſdiction of the city; Marcellus, Sicily; Cato, Sardinia; and Helvius, Gaul. Then they ſet about making levies: for beſides the conſular armies, the prætors were alſo ordered to raiſe recruits. Marcellus was to carry with him 4000 Latine foot and 300 horſe into Sicily; and of the ſame kind Cato was to tranſport 3000 foot and 200 horſe into Sardinia: and when they got into their provinces they were to diſcharge the veteran horſe and foot. Then the conſuls introduced Attalus's deputies to the ſenate. After they had informed the ſenate that the king their maſter had aſſiſted the Romans with all his ſea and land forces, and till that day diligently and faithfully executed the orders of their generals, they added, 'they 'were afraid, that Antiochus would prevent their 'doing ſo for the future. For he would invade 'their maſter's kingdom, while there were neither 'land forces nor a fleet at home to defend it. 'Therefore they intreated the conſcript fathers, that 'in caſe they had a mind to employ his fleet and 'aſſiſtance in the Macedonian war, they would ſend troops

'troops to defend his dominions; if they did not CHAP.
'chuſe that, they would give him leave to withdraw VIII.
'his fleet and other forces for his own defence.' The ſenate ordered the following anſwer to be given to the ambaſſadors. 'They were very ſenſible of At-
'talus's favors in aiding their generals with his fleet
'and other forces, and heartily thanked him for it.
'But they would neither ſend him aſſiſtance againſt
'Antiochus, who was their friend and ally; nor re-
'tain the king in their ſervice, if it was not conve-
'nient for his affairs. For the Romans always uſed
'foreign aid only at the diſcretion of thoſe who fur-
'niſhed it; and left it to the free will of thoſe who
'aſſiſted them, when to ſend and when to withdraw
'their aſſiſtance. However they would ſend am-
'baſſadors to tell Antiochus, that as Attalus's fleet
'and forces were employ'd by them againſt Philip,
'their common enemy, they would take it as a fa-
'vor, if he would not attack that prince's dominions.
'For it was reaſonable that the allies of Rome ſhould
'live in the ſame harmony with one another as they
'did with her.

THOUGH Flamininus had completed his le- CHAP.
vies, in which he had choſen only men of diſtinguiſh- IX.
ed bravery, who had ſerved before in Spain or Afri-
ca, and was haſtening into his province, yet the re-
port and expiation of prodigies detained him at Rome. The public ſtreet at Veii, the forum and tem-
ple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, the temple of Hercules at Ardæa, the wall and towers at Capua, with a tem-
ple called Alba, were ſtruck with lightning: At Ar-
retium the heavens ſeemed to be on fire: At Veli-
træ about three acres of ground fell in: It was re-
ported, that in Sueſſa Aurunca, a lamb was brought forth with two heads; and at Sinueſſa a hog with a human head. To expiate theſe prodigies a ſupplica-
tion was appointed for one day; and the conſuls, af-
ter the ſacred ceremonies were over, ſet out for their provinces. Ælius went with C. Helvius into Gaul. When he received the old army from Lentulus, in-
ſtead

CHAP. X.

stead of disbanding it as he ought, he gave it to the prætor, intending to prosecute the war with the new army. However he performed nothing memorable. The other consul, Flamininus, set out sooner than former consuls usually did, from Brundisium, and landed at Corcyra, with 8000 foot and 800 horse. From thence he went in a quinquereme to the next land of Epirus, and then by long journies to the Roman camp. Having dismissed Villius, he staid several days waiting the coming up of his troops from Corcyra. During this time he called a council of war to deliberate whether it would be better to force a passage streight through the enemy's lines; or, without trying so painful and dangerous an attempt, to march about by the country of the Dassaretæ and Lycus, which was a safe rout. This latter had certainly been followed, had they not been afraid, that if they should march far from the sea, and let the enemy slip thro' their hands, and that if the king should resolve, as he had done before, to skreen himself in woods and desert forests, the campaign would be spent without any salutary or honorable effect. This determined the consul at all events to attack the enemy, notwithstanding the advantage of their posts. But though this determination pleased them, they were not so ready at finding out the proper manner of executing it. They spent forty days in sight of the enemy without making the least attempt.

CHAP. XI.

THIS respite gave Philip hopes of procuring peace by means of the Epirotes. After consultation, Pausanias, prætor of Epirus, and Alexander, a general of horse, were pitched on to manage this affair: they brought the king and the consul to an interview on the banks of the narrowest part of the Aoüs. The sum of the consul's demands was, that the king should evacuate the Greek cities he had conquered, and restore what could be found to those whose lands and towns he had plundered, and make satisfaction for what was missing according to a just computation. Philip answered, 'The case of these cities were very

'different:

'different: he would chearfully reſtore thoſe he had conquered himſelf, but would not part with thoſe he had received from his anceſtors, and which he held by lawful right of inheritance. If the cities he had been at war with complained of having ſuffered loſſes, he would ſubmit himſelf to the arbitration of neutral powers.' The conſul reply'd, 'There was no need of ſuch arbitration. As he was the aggreſſor, it was beyond queſtion he ought to repair the damage. For you, Philip, attacked all theſe cities firſt without the leaſt provocation from any of them.' 'What cities then, ſaid the king, ſhall I reſtore?' 'All Theſſaly, anſwered the conſul.' This ſo enraged Philip that he cry'd out, 'What harder conditions could you have demanded, if you had conquered me?' Thus he in a paſſion broke off the conference, nay, they could ſcarce refrain throwing their darts at one another as they were only ſeparated by the river. Next day ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened between the detachments in the plain, which was wide enough for that purpoſe; and as the royaliſts retired through narrow and rugged paths, the Romans, eager to purſue their blow, penetrated into them alſo. The latter obſerved an exact order and diſcipline, and beſides their weapons were more proper for attacking; but the former had the advantage of the ground, and their catapultæ and baliſtæ, which were planted on the rocks, as on a parapet, were of great ſervice to them. Many were wounded on both ſides, and many were killed as if they had fought a pitched battle. At length night put an end to the action. CHAP. XI.

WHILE in this ſituation, a ſhepherd, ſent by Charops the Epirote, was brought before the conſul. As he had long fed his flocks in that woody mountain where the king was then encamped, he ſaid he knew all the windings and by-paths of thoſe mountains. If the conſul would pleaſe to ſend a detachment with him, he would lead them to the top above the enemy, by a way nowiſe rough or difficult. Charops CHAP. XII.

CHAP. XII.

rops had given orders to tell the conſul, to truſt this ſhepherd only ſo far, as not to put it in his power to hurt him. The conſul heſitated ſome time between hope and fear, rather inclined than daring to truſt him, as Charops had given him this caution: but at length he reſolved to make the attempt. To prevent the enemy from ſuſpecting his deſign, for the two following days he never ceaſed his attacks, poſting troops on all ſides, and relieving the fatigued with freſh men. Then he draughted 4000 choſen foot and 300 horſe, and gave the command of them to a legionary tribune. He ordered him to march the horſe as far as the paths were good, and when he found they could go no farther, to poſt them in ſome plain: to procede with the foot by the way the guide ſhould point out; and when, according to the ſhepherd's promiſe, he ſhould reach the top, to raiſe a ſmoke as a ſignal, and not to ſet up a ſhout, till he was aſſured by a ſignal from him that the battle was begun. He was to march by night, for the moon was then at full, and to reſt and refreſh all day. Though the conſul made great promiſes to the guide in caſe he performed what he had undertaken, yet he delivered him bound to the tribune. At their departure the conſul preſſed them to do their duty bravely.

CHAP. XIII.

ON the third day after the detachment ſet out, they reached the top appointed, and made the ſignal that they were in poſſeſſion of it. Then the conſul divided his army into three parts. He marched the main body through the middle of the valley, and made his right and left diviſions advance againſt the enemy's two camps. The enemy immediately came out and met him. Their ardor carry'd them beyond their ſtrong poſts, to where the Romans had the advantage of them in valor, ſkill and the quality of arms. After many of them were killed and wounded they retired to poſts either naturally ſtrong or fortify'd by art. By this means they brought the Romans in their turn into danger; for the latter raſhly entered theſe diſadvantageous defiles, from which

they could not eaſily retreat. Nor, indeed, could they have retired without ſuffering ſeverely for their raſhneſs, had not the ſhout the royal army firſt heard in their rear, and then the ſeeing themſelves attacked, quite ſtupify'd it. Some fled with precipitation, others, who rather wanted a way than inclination to eſcape, ſtood and were ſurrounded by the enemy who preſſed them in front and rear. Their whole army had been cut off, if the enemy could have purſued; but the narrow and rugged paths hindered the horſe, as the weight of their arms did the foot. The king himſelf fled at firſt with precipitation and without regard to the dignity of his character. But after he had gone five miles off, gueſſing, what was true, that the unevenneſs of the ground would hinder the enemy from following, he halted on an eminence, from which he ſent detachments over all the hills and valleys to collect the ſcattered remains of his army together. He did not loſe 2000 men; the reſt having met all together, as if by particular order, marched in a numerous body to Theſſaly. The Romans purſued as far as they could with ſafety, making great ſlaughter and ſtriping the dead: the king's camp, which was on a very ſteep rock and quite abandoned, they took and rifled. At night they retired to their own entrenchments. CHAP. XIII.

CHAP. XIV.

NEXT day the conſul went in purſuit of the enemy, through that ſtreight, by which the river runs through the valley. Early in the morning Philip marched as far as Pyrrhus's camp [a], between Stymphalia and Elymiotis [b]. Next day, ſpur'd on by fear, he went by long marches to mount Lingo [c], which lyes between Macedonia and Theſſaly. The ſide towards Theſſaly faces the eaſt, and that towards Macedonia the north. Theſe ſides are covered with woods, but their top is plain and abounds with ſprings of water. Here he ſtay'd ſeveral days deliberating, whether it was beſt to retire directly to his own country, or return to Theſſaly. He determined

[a] In *Stymphalia*, a little country of *Epirus*.

[b] *Gronovius*.

[c] A part of mount *Pindus*.

at

CHAP. XIV.

at last for the latter, whither he marched with all expedition to Tricca [d]. From thence, he flew through the cities that lay in his way, forcing all the people, that were able to follow him, out of their habitations, and burning the towns: However he gave them liberty to carry as many of their effects with them as they could; the reſt he abandoned to his troops: Nay theſe wretched people were treated as inhumanly by their allies, as they could have been by the moſt cruel enemy. Philip himſelf, who exerciſed theſe acts of cruelty, was extremely affected by them; but he was deſirous to reſcue at leaſt the bodies of his allies out of a country which the enemy was ſoon to be maſter of. Thus were Phacium [e], Ireſia [f], Euhydrium [g], Eretria [h], and Pharſalus demoliſhed. When he came to Pheræ [i] he found the gates ſhut againſt him: As the ſiege of it would have detained him, and he had no time to loſe, he quitted that enterprize, and retired into Macedonia. For it was reported that even the Ætolians were going to invade it. When they received advice of his defeat at the Aoüs, they firſt waſted all the neighboring country, paſſed near the Sperchius [k] and Macra-Come, and from thence into Theſſaly, where they took Cymenes and Angeæ [l] at the firſt aſſault. But they were repulſed from Metropolis [m] by the inhabitants who ran to defend their walls, when they were ravaging their lands. Then they attacked Callithera [n], where they oppoſed a like ſally of the inhabitants with more vigor; for they drove them within their walls, but having no hopes of gaining greater advantage over them, they were contented with that, and departed. From thence they marched againſt the villages of

[d] Now *Tricala*, on the banks of the *Peneus*.

[e] In *Arcadia*.

[f] In the ſame country.

[g] Ibid.

[h] *Vatia*, in *Phthiotis* between *Pharſalus* and *Pheræ*.

[i] In *Magneſia*, and now called *Fere*.

[k] This river riſes in mount *Tymphreſtus*, in the country of the *Dryopes*, and diſcharges itſelf in the *Malaic* gulph, near *Ftelia*.

[l] Both theſe cities lay between the *Pindus* and the *Apidanus*.

[m] A city in *Phthiotis*, on the left bank of the *Apidanus*.

[n] On the right or eaſtern bank of that river.

Theuma

Theuma [o] and Calathana [p], which they took and plundered. Acharræ [q] ſurrendered to them. The inhabitants of Xyniæ [r] deſerted it for fear. This troop of people who left their native city fell in with a detachment which was convoying the booty to Thaumacus: as they were undiſciplined and unarmed, and had their helpleſs wives and children with them, they were cut to pieces by the ſoldiers. Their city was rifled. Then the Ætolians took Cyphara [s], a fort conveniently ſituated to command the country of the Delopes [t].

NOR did Amynander and the Athamanians continue quiet when they heard of the victory gained by the Romans. But as this prince could not rely on his own troops, he obtained a ſmall reinforcement from the conſul. On his rout to Gomphi, he took Pheca [a], a city ſituated between Gomphi and the ſtreights which ſeparate Theſſaly and Athamania. Then he attacked Gomphi, where the inhabitants made a brave defence for ſeveral days: But when he came to fix his ſcaling ladders, they ſurrendered through fear. This ſurrendry ſtruck great terror into the Theſſalians. Then Argens [b], Pherinum, Thimarum, Liſinæ, Stymon and Lampſus [c], and ſeveral other inconſiderable forts about, ſurrendered at diſcretion. Thus the Athamanians and Ætolians, freed from all apprehenſions from the Macedonians, reaped the fruits of other people's victory, and Theſſaly was laid waſte by three different armies at the ſame time, without being able clearly to judge who were her foes or who her friends. The conſul entered Epirus by the ſtreight which the enemy's flight had left open to him. Though he knew the Epirotes, all ex-

CHAP. XIV.

[o] *Thauma*, in *Æſtiotis*, between *Angeæ* and *Tricca*.

[p] On the eaſt bank of the *Peneus*, near *Metropolis*.

[q] A little to the ſouth of the former.

[r] South of *Angeæ* and near *Pindus*.

[s] To the weſt of the former, at the foot of mount *Pindus*.

[t] *Onoblachia*, on the confines of *Theſſaly*.

[a] In *Æſtiotis* at the foot of mount *Pindus*, towards *Dilopia*.

[b] All theſe cities belonged to *Theſſaly*, but we don't know their ſituation.

[c] South of *Gomphi* near the ſprings of *Peneus*, on the weſt confines of *Æſtiotis*.

cept

CHAP. XIV.

cept Charops, who ſeemed to be the principal perſon amongſt them, favored the Macedonians; yet becauſe he ſaw they readily ſubmitted to his orders, he was ſatisfy'd with this dutiful zeal of theirs, and choſe rather to judge of their affection by the preſent readineſs they ſhew'd to favor him, than by their former inclinations towards Philip: By thus eaſily pardoning them he conciliated their affections for the future. Having ſent couriers to Corcyra to order his tranſports to come to the gulph of Ambracia [d], he decamped, and by moderate marches arrived in four days at mount Cercetius [e]. Here he ſent for Amynander and his auxiliaries to come to him; not that he needed his forces, but to ſerve him as guides into Theſſaly. For the ſame purpoſe he admitted many volunteer Epirotes to ſerve among his auxiliaries.

CHAP. XV.

THE firſt city of Theſſaly that he attacked was Phaloria [a]. It was garriſon'd by 2000 Macedonians, who at firſt made as gallant a defence as could be made by arms and from walls. But the ſiege being puſh'd on without any reſpite day and night, and the conſul redoubling his efforts, becauſe he knew, the reſolutions of the other cities of Theſſaly depended upon ſhewing that the firſt was not able to ſtand out againſt him, overcame the obſtinate valor of the Macedonians. When Phaloria was taken deputies came from Metropolis and Piala [b] to ſurrender them. He gave them their cities and liberty upon their ſubmiſſion. Phaloria was plundered and then reduced to aſhes. From it he went and ſat down before Æginium [c], a city impregnable by ſituation, with even an inconſiderable gariſon: ſo having only thrown a few darts at the advanced guards, he continued his march towards Gomphi, and came down into the plains of Theſſaly. As he had ſpared the lands of the Epirotes, his army began to want

[d] Now the gulph of *Larta*, in the *Ionian* ſea.

[e] It divided *Theſſaly* and *Pelagonia*.

[a] On the weſtern borders of *Epirus*.

[b] A city of *Æſtiotis*.

[c] It belong'd to *Illyricum*, and ſtood on the confines of *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*.

all

all kinds of proviſions: but after he had ſent to enquire if his tranſports had arrived at Leucas and the gulph of Ambracia, he ſent his cohorts by turns to fetch corn. The road from Gomphi to Ambracia is not very long, but extremely bad. Thus, having ſupply'd himſelf with proviſions from the ſea, plenty of all kinds reign'd in his camp. From thence he went to Atrax [d], ſituated on the Peneus, about fifteen miles from Lariſſa: it's inhabitants came originally from Perrhœbia. The Theſſalians were not in the leaſt conſternation at the approach of the Roman, for they ſo hated Philip that he durſt not appear among them. Therefore he encamped in the valley of Tempe, from whence as he had opportunity he ſent relief to every town the enemy attacked. CHAP. XV.

ABOUT the ſame time that the conſul encamp'd oppoſite to Philip in the ſtreights of Epirus, his brother L. Quinctius, whom the ſenate had appointed to command a fleet for the defence of theſe coaſts, came to Corcyra with two quinqueremes. When he found the fleet was gone from thence he did not think proper to ſtay there, but followed them to the iſland Sama [a], where he diſmiſſed Apuſtius his predeceſſor. Then he ſail'd very ſlowly to Cape Malea, being obliged to take the tranſports in tow. From thence he ordered the reſt to keep on their courſe with all the ſail they could, while he himſelf with three quinqueremes went to the port of Pireæus, to receive the ſhips which his predeceſſor Apuſtius had left for the defence of Athens. At the ſame time arrived two fleets from Aſia, king Attalus's conſiſting of twenty four quinqueremes, and that of the Rhodians of twenty decked ſhips, commanded by Ageſimbrotus. The fleets join'd at the iſland Andros, and then ſtood over a ſmall ſtreight to Eubœa. The firſt deſcent they made was upon Caryſtus, whoſe fields they ravaged: but ſeeing the city immediately and ſtrongly reinforced from Chal- CHAP. XVI.

[d] Now *Voidanar*. [a] *Curſolari*, in the *Ionian* ſea.

CHAP. XVI.

cis, they ſtood away for Eretria. L. Quinctius, having got notice of Attalus's arrival, went thither alſo with the ſhips he had at Pireæus, leaving orders for any of his fleet that ſhould arrive there, to follow him to Eubœa. Eretria was beſieged with the greateſt vigor; for the three combined fleets had brought abundance of all kinds of machines and engines uſed in ſieges; beſides the place furniſhed plenty of materials for raiſing new works. The inhabitants at firſt made a brave defence; but at length exhauſted with fatigue and wounds, and ſeeing a breach made in their wall, they inclined to capitulate: but they had in their town a Macedonian gariſon, of which they were more afraid than of the Romans; beſides Philocles, one of the king's generals, ſent them word that if they did not yield he would come in time to their relief. In this perplexity, between hope and fear, they were induced to hold out longer than they inclined or really were able. But at laſt being informed that Philocles had been repulſed and retired with precipitation to Chalcis, they directly ſent deputies to Attalus, begging his pardon and protection. The hopes of obtaining terms made them more remiſs in their duty, and they only placed guards at that part of the wall where the breach was, neglecting all the other poſts. So Quinctius attacking a quarter, in the night, that was leaſt ſuſpected, took the town by ſcale. The inhabitants with their wives and children fled into the citadel, which ſoon ſurrendered. They found no great quantity of ſilver, but more fine paintings, ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, and other ornaments of that kind, than could have been expected in ſo poor and ſmall a town.

CHAP. XVII.

THEN he went back to Caryſtus, where, before he landed his troops, the inhabitants quitted their town and fled to the citadel, from whence they ſent a trumpet to offer to capitulate. They had their lives and liberty granted; but the Macedonians were to pay 300 ſeſterces apiece for their ranſom, and march away without their arms. Accordingly they paid the

the money and went to Bœotia unarmed. After having taken theſe two important towns of Eubœa in a few days, the combined fleet doubled the cape of Sunium in the Athenian territories, and appeared before Cenchrea one of the ports of Corinth. During this time the conſul was engaged in a more tedious and dangerous ſiege at Atrax, where the enemy made a vigorous reſiſtance, which he little expected. He had imagined that the only difficulty he ſhould meet with would be battering down the walls; and if he had once made a breach for his troops to enter, they would rout and ſlaughter the enemy as commonly happens at taking towns. But after he had made a breach with his rams, and his men were got up to it, it proved but the beginning of his labor and fatigue. For the Macedonian gariſon, which was numerous and a choſen body of men, and beſides thought it would be a glorious action to defend themſelves rather by valor and arms than by walls, drew up in a thick phalanx within, and when the Romans advanced to the breach, repulſed them, where the ground was ſo diſadvantageous that they found it difficult to retreat. The conſul was not only enraged at the affront of being detained at the ſiege of a ſingle paltry town, but alſo conſidered that it was of great conſequence to the grand event of the war, which commonly depends upon ſlight occurrences: therefore he ordered the place to be cleared of the rubbiſh occaſioned by the fall of the wall, and cauſed a tower of great height, filled with ſoldiers, and conſiſting of many ſtories, to be moved thither. He alſo ſent out ſeveral cohorts, one after another, to break the Macedonian phalanx by force. But the breach being narrow prevented the effect of the machine and the ſucceſs of the troops. The Macedonians, who were formed very thick, reſted their pikes, which made as ſtrong a fence as a tortoiſe of bucklers, ſo that the Romans, after having thrown their darts to no purpoſe, advanced ſword in hand; but they could neither come near, nor cut aſunder

CHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII.

theſe pikes; and if it chanced that they ſtruck or broke any of them, the pointed ſhaft that remained filled up the gap, and ſerved for a good defence amidſt the iron pointed ones that were whole. Beſides both flanks of the phalanx were ſecured by the parts of the wall that were ſtill ſtanding; and the Romans had not room to retire and advance with fury again, which commonly makes the impreſſion in attacks that break the enemy. Another accident encouraged the beſieg'd: When the tower was moving over a mount of earth that had not been ram'd cloſe enough together, one of the wheels ſunk in, whereby the tower leaned ſo much to one ſide, that to the enemy it ſeemed ready to tumble, while the troops upon it were frightned out of their ſenſes.

CHAP. XVIII.

WHEN no attempt ſucceded, the conſul, vexed to ſee the ſuperiority of the enemy's troops and arms, that there was no likelihood of reducing the place ſoon, and that, as he was far from the ſea, he could not winter in a ravaged and plundered country, he raiſed the ſiege. There was no port on all the coaſt of Acarnania and Ætolia large enough to contain all the ſtoreſhips neceſſary to ſupply the army with proviſions, nor a city which could furniſh quarters for his troops: Anticyra in Phocis on the gulph of Corinth ſeemed the moſt commodious for his purpoſe; becauſe it was near Theſſaly and the enemy's country: oppoſite to it, beyond a ſmall ſtreight, was Peloponneſus; behind Ætolia and Acarnania; on one ſide Locris, and on the other Bœotia. He took Phanotea [a] of Phocis at the firſt aſſault without ſtriking a ſtroke. The taking of Anticyra did not detain him long. He took alſo Ambryſus [b], Hyampolis [c], and Daulis [d], which ſtands on ſo high ground that it could neither be taken by ſcale or planting engines againſt it. But by throwing ſome darts on the gariſon, the Romans provoked them to ſally: after ſome ſlight

[a] Anciently *Panopea*.

[b] On the confines of *Phocis*, near *Bœotia*.

[c] Now *Iamboli*, between *Cephiſus* and *Opus*, on the confines of *Bœotia*.

[d] On the right bank of the *Cephiſus*, near *Ambryſus* and *Panopea*.

ſkirmiſhes

ſkirmiſhes with alternate ſucceſs, the enemy became negligent, and conceived ſuch contempt for the Romans, as to give them an opportunity, when they repulſed them at a ſally, to enter the town pellmell with them. Six other inconſiderable forts of Phocis he forced to ſurrender, rather by fear than hoſtilities. However Elatia ſhut her gates, reſolved to admit neither the conſul nor his army, unleſs obliged to it by force.

CHAP. XIX.

WHILST he lay before this city, he conceived hopes of ſucceeding in a much greater enterprize, of withdrawing the Achæans from their alliance with Philip, to the intereſt of the republic. That people had baniſhed Cyclias, chief of the Macedonian faction, and choſen for their prætor Ariſtænus, a man well affected to an alliance with the Romans. The three combined fleets lay before Cenchrea and were preparing to attack Corinth. However it was thought adviſable, before they entered upon that enterprize, to ſend a deputation to the Achæans, to promiſe, if they would deſert the king, the Romans would put Corinth under their juriſdiction, as it had formerly been. The conſul ſent his brother L. Quinctius, king Attalus, and the Rhodian and Athenian deputies on this deputation. They had their audience of the Achæan diet at Sicyon. The Achæans wavered in their inclinations: they were afraid of the Lacedæmonians their conſtant and dangerous enemy, and dreaded the Roman arms. They lay under old and new obligations to the Macedonians, but they were jealous of the king on account of his cruelty and perfidy, and conjectured from his preſent conduct, he would lord it over them with greater tyranny when the war was ended. They were not only at a loſs, what every one ſhould ſay when aſked his opinion in the ſenate of his own ſtate, or in the general diet; but could not determine, in ſuch a variety of choice, what to wiſh or fix on. During this fluctuation of their minds, the deputies were admitted and deſired to open their inſtructions. The Roman deputy Calpurnia ſpoke

firſt, and then king Attalus and the Rhodians. Next Philip's ambaſſadors had leave to ſpeak. Laſt of all the Athenians roſe up to refute what the Macedonians had ſaid. They bitterly inveighed againſt the king, becauſe none had ſuffered greater or more injuries from him than their nation. The long ſpeeches of ſo many different perſons took up the whole day, and the diet was diſmiſſed at ſunſet.

CHAP. XX.

NEXT day they met again, when, according to the cuſtom of the Greeks, a herald proclamed, that the magiſtrates gave any perſon leave to give his advice that pleaſed; but as none offered to ſpeak, they remained long ſilent, looking at one another. And no wonder, if they who were extremely ambarraſſed when they reflected within themſelves on things ſo different and contrary, ſhould be more perplexed by the long ſpeeches preſſing and adviſing ſteps exceedingly difficult. At laſt Ariſtænus, prætor of the Achæans, to prevent the diet's breaking up in ſilence, ſtood up. 'Achæans, ſaid he, whither is that cou-
'rage vaniſhed, which, at your entertainments, and
'private conferences, where Philip and the Romans
'happened to be mentioned, engaged you in ſo warm
'diſputes, that you could ſcarce refrain coming to
'blows? In a diet aſſembled purpoſely to deliberate
'on that affair, wherein you have heard the deputies
'of both ſides, when the magiſtrates lay it before
'you, and a herald has invited you to give your o-
'pinions, you are ſilent! Anxiety for your common
'ſafety, the zealous affection which induced you to
'declare in favor of one ſide or the other, cannot
'wreſt a word from you! None is ſo ſtupid as not
'to ſee, that now, before the matter is finally deter-
'mined, is the only opportunity he can have of de-
'claring his inclinations and adviſing what he thinks
'beſt. When it is once determined, all of us muſt,
'even thoſe whom it before diſpleaſed, defend it as
'a ſalutary and advantageous treaty.' But this warm rebuke of the prætor's was ſo far from engaging any one to give his opinion, that it did not ſo much

as excite a whiſper or murmur in ſo numerous an aſſembly.

THEN Ariſtænus reſumed the diſcourſe. 'Chiefs CHAP. XXI.
'of Achea, you are no more at a loſs for a ſalutary
'advice, than you are for words. But you are a-
'fraid of incurring danger to each of yourſelves, by
'providing for the common ſafety. It is poſſible,
'that had I been a private perſon, I ſhould have
'been ſilent too. But as I am your chief magiſtrate,
'I muſt declare the neceſſity of giving the deputies
'an anſwer, ſince we admitted them to an audience.
'Yet what anſwer can I give them without being
'authorized by you? Since none of you, who have
'been called upon in this diet to give your opinion,
'either will or dares do it; let us conſider the
'ſpeeches made by the deputies yeſterday, as ſo
'many different advices offered to us, without re-
'gard to the intereſt of them who gave them,
'but what they imagined would be moſt for ours.
'The Romans, Rhodians and Attalus court our
'friendſhip and alliance, and think it reaſona-
'ble that we ſhould aſſiſt them in their war againſt
'Philip. That king, again puts us in mind of the
'alliance ſubſiſting between him and us, and the
'oath by which we bound ourſelves to obſerve it:
'ſometimes he inſiſts that we act openly for him; at
'another, declares he will be content if we ſtand
'neuter. Does not a reaſon occur to any of you,
'why thoſe who are not our allies demand more
'of us than he who is? It is neither owing to the
'modeſty of Philip, or the arrogance of the Romans.
'The ſea ports of Achæa give the latter confidence,
'and inſpire the former with moderation. We ſee
'nothing belonging to the Macedonian but his de-
'puty. Whereas a Roman fleet lyes now at anchor
'at Cenchrea, looking on the ſpoils of the cities of
'Eubœa as their certain prey: We ſee the conſul
'and his legions ſeparated from us only by a
'narrow ſtreight, laying waſte the countries of the
'Phoceans and the Locri. Can we then be ſur-

CHAP. XXI.

'prized, why Cleomedon, Philip's ambaſſador, ſo
'faintly demanded yeſterday, that we ſhould take
'arms in favor of his maſter? If we in our turn, by
'virtue of the ſame treaty, with the breach of which
'he terrifies us, was to aſk the Macedonian to de-
'fend us from Nabis and the Lacedæmonians, and
'the Romans, he would not only be at a loſs for ſuc-
'cors to ſend us, but for an anſwer to our deputies:
'he would not be more ready to help us than he
'was laſt year, when he promiſed to make war on
'Nabis in order to decoy our youth hence into Eu-
'bœa; but afterwards, when he ſaw we refuſed him
'theſe ſuccors, and were not inclined to entangle
'ourſelves in a Roman war, he forgot the ſacred al-
'liance he now boaſts of, and left us expoſed to the
'ravages and devaſtations of Nabis and the Lacedæ-
'monians. Beſides to me Cleomedon's ſpeech did
'not ſeem conſiſtent with itſelf. He made light of
'the Roman war, and affirmed it would terminate
'in the ſame manner as the former, which they
'waged with Philip. How then happens it that he
'in his abſence demands our help, and does not
'appear in perſon to protect, againſt Nabis and the
'Romans, us his ancient allies? Even us, I ſay!
'Why then did he ſuffer Eretria and Caryſtus to be
'taken? Why, ſo many cities of Theſſaly? Why
'did he ſuffer Locris and Phocis to be ravaged in
'the manner they were? Why does he even now
'ſuffer Elatia to be beſieged? Why did he quit the
'ſtreights of Epirus; why did he abandon the im-
'pregnable poſts above the Aoüs? Was it by force,
'fear, or of his own accord, that he left the paſs he
'was in poſſeſſion of and retired into his own king-
'dom? If he voluntarily left ſo many allies a prey
'to the enemy, what can he urge againſt his allies
'providing for their own ſafety? If he abandoned
'them through fear, he will the more eaſily excuſe
'our apprehenſions. If he was diſlodged by force,
'can you imagine, Cleomedon, that the Achæans
'can ſuſtain the arms of theſe Romans, which your

'Mace-

CHAP. XXI.

'Macedonians could not? Shall we believe you, 'that the Romans do not profecute this war with 'more numerous forces or greater vigor, than they 'did the formen, rather than credit facts and our 'own eyes? Rome then only fent a fleet to the fuc-'cor of the Ætolians; fhe did not profecute the 'war by a conful or conſular army. Only Philip's 'allies on the ſea coaſt were then alarmed and an-'noy'd; for thoſe on the inland were ſo ſecure from 'all hoſtilities, that Philip in ſafety ravaged the coun-'try of the Ætolians, who without ſucceſs implored 'the aid of the Romans. But now the Romans, hav-'ing terminated the Punic war, which had raged in 'the bowels of Italy during ſixteen years, not only 'ſuccor the Ætolians in their war, but have become 'principals in it, and attacked Macedonia both by ſea 'and land. Flamininus is the third conſul that has 'profecuted the war in our country. Sulpicius tra-'verſed Macedonia itſelf, routed and put the king 'to flight, after having ravaged the moſt opulent 'part of his kingdom. Lately, while Philip held 'the paſs of Epirus, and rely'd on the natural 'ſtrength of the place, his lines and army, Flami-'ninus diſlodged him, took his camp, and, purſu-'ing him into Theſſaly, took his gariſon'd towns, 'and the cities of his allies, almoſt before his eyes. 'Suppoſe what the Athenian deputies juſt now aſ-'ſerted, of this prince's cruelty, avarice, and luſt; 'ſuppoſe the crimes committed againſt the cœleſtial 'and infernal Deities in the country of Attica; much 'leſs what the Cianï and Abydenians, which lye far 'from us, ſuffered from him, do not concern us: 'Let us forget if you pleaſe, our own ſufferings; 'the ſlaughter and plunder made at Meſſena in the 'middle of Peloponneſus; the foul murder of his 'friend Garitenes, at Cypariſſa, who was killed, 'contrary to all the laws of humanity and hoſpita-'lity, at a feaſt; alſo of Aratus the father and ſon 'at Sicyon, though he was wont to call that unfor-'tunate old man his father: Let us forget the

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'ſon's wife who was carry'd off into Macedonia to
'gratify his brutal luſt; and his raviſhing of many
'other virgins and wives: ſuppoſe we had no rea-
'ſon to fear theſe injuries, if we join Philip; yet for
'fear of his cruelty you were all ſilent; for what
'other cauſe can be aſſigned for your not ſpeaking
'in a diet to which you was called to give your ad-
'vice? Put the caſe that we had a diſpute of this
'nature with Antigonus, a mild and equitable prince,
'and to whom we lye under the greateſt obligati-
'ons; would he require us to do what was impoſ-
'ſible for us, even ſuppoſing we were in alliance
'with him? Peloponneſus is a peninſula join'd to
'the continent by a narrow iſthmus: no place in
'the univerſe lyes more open or expoſed to at-
'tacks by ſea. If 100 decked ſhips, 50 other open
'frigates and 30 ſmall gallies of Iſſa ſhould make
'a deſcent on our coaſts, and begin to attack our
'cities that lye near the ſhore, ſhall we retire to our
'inland towns? Why, have we not an inteſtine war
'in the bowels of our country already? ſhould Na-
'bis and the Lacedæmonians attack us by land, and
'the Romans by ſea, could I implore this king's al-
'liance and aid? Or ſhall we be able with our own
'proper ſtrength to defend our towns when they
'ſhall be attacked? Forſooth we bravely defended
'Dymæ in the former war! As we have examples
'enough of the misfortunes of others before our
'eyes, let us avoid making ourſelves an example to
'others. Do not make light of an alliance, which
'you ought to wiſh for, and uſe your utmoſt en-
'deavors to obtain, becauſe the Romans have of-
'fered it of their own accord. It is for fear, per-
'haps, being driven into a foreign land, that they
'are forced to deſire your ſuccor and protection, and
'court your alliance, that they may be received into
'your harbors, and be furniſhed with proviſions.
'No! they have the empire of the ſea, and the na-
'tions ſubmit to them wherever they come by land.
'They are in a condition to oblige us to do what

'they

'they aſk. Becauſe they deſire to preſerve you, CHAP.
'they do not ſuffer you to be guilty of what would XXI.
'derive ruin upon you. Cleomedon yeſterday would
'have ſhewed us that our wiſeſt and ſafeſt courſe,
'was to ſtand neuter, and not take part in the war.
'But inſtead of being a ſafe way, it is the quite con-
'trary. For, beſides that we muſt either abſolutely
'accept or reject an alliance with the Romans, we
'ſhall become the prey of the conqueror; for we
'will receive favor from neither ſide, becauſe we, as
'it were, waited the event of the war, that we
'might determine ourſelves by fortune. Do not for
'Godſake reject with contempt, what you ought to
'aſk with the moſt earneſt entreaties, becauſe it is
'generouſly offered by them. Farther be aſſured,
'that now you have it in your power to obtain it, you
'will not always have it ſo. You will neither often
'or long have ſo good an opportunity. You have
'long had an inclination, but wanted courage to free
'yourſelves from the tyranny of Philip. Lo! a
'people have come from beyond ſea with a fleet
'and army, who will vindicate your liberty, with-
'out ſuffering you to undergo the leaſt toil or dan-
'ger. You muſt be out of your ſenſes if you de-
'ſpiſe their alliance; and if you do not make them
'your allies, you by inevitable conſequence make
'them your enemies.'

THIS diſcourſe of the prætor raiſed a great mur- CHAP.
mur in the aſſembly. Some approved of it, while o- XXII.
thers bitterly inveighed againſt them for doing ſo. Not only a few but the whole people ran into mutual reproaches. Nay the diſputes grew as warm between the ten magiſtrates called demiurgi, as between the multitude: five of them declared that they would vote for decreeing an alliance with the Romans; and five declared they would proteſt againſt the magiſtrates making any motion, or the diet's paſſing any decree in prejudice of their alliance with Philip. By this means the whole day was ſpent in wrangling. The diet could legally ſit but one day longer; for by

CHAP. XXII. by their law they were obliged to pass their decrees within three days. On this their contention rose to so great a height, that parents could scarce refrain from beating their children. There was present one Rhisiasus of Pellenæ, whose son Memnon was one of the demiurgi, and in that faction which would not suffer a question to be put, or the diet to divide upon it. P. Rhisiasus long conjured his son not to oppose a resolution so salutary to the Achæan nation, nor by his obstinacy to ruin the whole state: But when he saw prayers made no impression on him, he declared he would treat him as an enemy, not his son, and kill him with his own hand. These menaces prevailed, and the third day he joined with those, who were for putting the question. Thus having got a majority, they made the motion, which was universally approved by the people, shewing hereby what the decree would be. But before it passed the deputies from Dymæ, Megalopolis, and some of the Argi, rose up and left the assembly, which was no surprize, nor did any person blame them for it: For Antigonus, no longer ago than the days of their grandfathers, had reinstated the Megalopolitans in their country from whence they had been driven by the Lacedæmonians; and lately when Dymæ was taken and sacked by the Romans, Philip ordered all the inhabitants to be redeemed from slavery, and not only restored them to liberty, but reinstated them in their country. As to the Argi, besides their believing that the kings of Macedon were descended from them, they were united to Philip by the laws of hospitality and strict friendship. These were the deputies reasons for leaving the diet, when they saw it inclined to decree an alliance with the Romans; and this step was pardonable in them, as their states lay under many great and fresh contracted obligations to the king.

CHAP. XXIII. THE rest of the Achæans, when the question was put, by decree immediately ratify'd an alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; but defer'd concluding

cluding a treaty with the Roman deputies till they sent ambassadors to Rome, because it could not be ratify'd but by the people. In the mean time they ordered three deputies to be sent to Flamininus, and their whole army to advance against Corinth, before which the Romans had sat down after they had taken Cenchrea. They intrenched themselves on the quarter that faced the gate of Sicyon. The Romans before that looking towards Cenchrea. And Attalus, having crossed the isthmus, invested it at the port of Lechæum, which stood on the other sea [a]. The siege was not pushed with vigor at first, because the confederates hoped that a difference would arise between the inhabitants and the king's garison. But when they found they were cordially united in their resolutions, that the Macedonians defended the city as keenly as if it had been their native country, and that the Corinthians readily and chearfully submitted to the mild and equal government of Androsthenes, as if he had been one of their own citizens, and had been chosen governor by their suffrages, they were obliged to have recourse to force; and raise works and machines. They raised mounts on all sides, because the walls were not very accessible. The rams made a breach on that part of the wall where the Romans attacked. As the Macedonians ran to defend it with arms, a bloody battle ensued between them and the Romans. The garison, superior in numbers, at first repulsed the besiegers with ease; but, the latter sending for the Achæans and Attalus to succor them became their match, and no longer doubted of being able to force the Greeks and Macedonians. But there happened to be a great number of Italian deserters in the place: Some were the relicks of Hannibals army, who had listed under Philip for fear of being punished by the Romans, and others had lately deserted from the fleet in hopes of bettering their fortune: These fellows de-

CHAP. XXIII.

[a] On the gulph of *Lepanto*, about 5000 geometrical paces from the other port.

spairing

CHAP. XXIII. ſpairing of their lives if the Romans ſhould carry the town, fought with a valor more reſembling madneſs, than any thing elſe. Oppoſite to Sicyon is the promontory of Juno, called the cape of Acrea, jutting out into the ſea: The ſtreight betwixt it and Corinth is about ſeven miles broad. Thither Philocles, one of Philip's generals, marched croſs Bœotia with 1500 men: The Corinthians had veſſels lying ready there to tranſport them to Lechæum. Upon this Attalus adviſed Quinctius to ſet fire to his works and raiſe the ſiege. But he perſiſted obſtinately in his reſolution to continue it. But at length when he ſaw ſtrong detachments of the king's gariſon poſted before all the gates, and that he was ſcarce able to ſuſtain the ſallies of the beſieged, he hearkened to Attalus's advice, diſmiſſed the Achæans, and returned to his fleet diſappointed of his aim. Attalus went to Pyreæus, and Quinctius to the iſland of Corfu.

CHAP. XXIV. WHILE the fleet was thus employ'd, the conſul, who lay before Elatia in Phocis, endeavored in conferences to bring over the chiefs of that city to the Roman intereſt: But being anſwered that they had it not in their power, as the gariſon was ſuperior in number and ſtrength to the inhababitants, he raiſed works and attacked it on all quarters. He battered that part of the wall between the towers, with a ram till it fell with a great craſh and left the town open: at the ſame inſtant a Roman cohort entered the breach, and the enemy abandoned all the other poſts in the town to defend that which was attacked. Upon this the Romans not only advanced againſt the breach, but planted their ladders againſt that part of the wall that was ſtanding: and while the enemy's eyes and attention were engaged about the breach the conſuls troops ſcaled the walls in ſeveral places and got into the town. Upon this ſudden alarm, the gariſon quitted the poſt they were defending in a body, and fled to the citadel with precipitation, whither the unarmed multitude followed

lowed them. By this means the conſul became maſter of the town. When he had rifled it he ſent a trumpet to the citadel to offer the king's gariſon their lives, and the Elatians their liberty. Theſe terms being mutually agreed on, he got poſſeſſion of the citadel within a few days.

BUT by the arrival of Philocles in Achaia, the ſiege of Corinth was raiſed; but the city of Argos betray'd to him by the chief men of it, after the inclinations of it's inhabitants had been ſounded. It was an ancient cuſtom with the Argi, on the firſt day of their elections, to name Jupiter, Apollo and Hercules for their prætors, as an omen of good luck: afterwards a law was made obliging them to add Philip's name to that of the three Gods. After their alliance with the Romans, when the public crier in his proclamation omitted that king's name, the multitude murmured excedingly: but at length a loud clamor was raiſed by thoſe who inſiſted it ſhould be added, and that he ſhould have that honor, which was his due, confer'd on him; in conſequence of which his name was pronounced with unanimous approbation. Philocles depending on this affection for his maſter, in the night ſeized the caſtle of Lariſſa on an eminence that commands the city: Here he placed a guard, and at day break advanced with banners diſplay'd to the forum that lyes at the foot of it, where he was met by the gariſon formed in order of battle. The Achæans had lately thrown into it 500 youth picked out of all their ſtates, and given the command of them to Eneſidemus a Dymæan. Philocles ſent a trumpet to him to deſire him to quit the town, giving him to underſtand, that he was not a match for the inhabitants alone, who were in the intereſt of Philip, much leſs for the Macedonians who had join'd them, and againſt whom the Romans were not able to ſtand at Corinth. At firſt this made no impreſſion either on the governor or his ſoldiers. But ſoon after ſeeing the Argi marching in a body to attack them

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them on the other quarter, they conſidered that they muſt all certainly be cut to pieces if their general perſiſted in his obſtinacy. Then Æneſidemus, to prevent loſing the flower of the Achæan youth, together with the town, capitulated with Philocles, that they ſhould be allowed to depart in ſafety: but he himſelf continued with a few of his friends, in the poſt where he ſtood. Philocles ſent to aſk him, what he intended to do? Holding his ſhield before him, he ſaid no more than this, to die in a city confided to my care! Hereupon Philocles ordered ſome Thracians to throw their darts at them. They were all ſlain. Thus after the treaty concluded between the Romans and Achæans, Philip continued maſter of two powerful cities, Argos and Corinth. This was the progreſs made by the Roman arms in Greece both by ſea and land during this campaign. The conſul Ælius performed nothing memorable in Gaul, though he had two armies in that country. He had given the prætor C. Ælius the command of the army formerly commanded by the pro-conſul L. Cornelius, when he ought to have diſbanded it, and he brought another into the province himſelf. He ſpent the beſt part of the year in obliging the Cremonenſes and Placentians to return to their colonies, from whence the calamities of war had diſperſed them.

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THOUGH, contrary to expectation, Gaul continued quiet during that year, yet about Rome there had like to have happened an inſurrection of the ſlaves. The Carthaginian hoſtages were kept at Setia. As they were all perſons of diſtinction, they had a great many ſlaves to attend them. The number of theſe wretches was increaſed, by the priſoners taken in the late African war, whom the Setini had purchaſed for ſlaves. Theſe entered into a conſpiracy and ſent ſome of their number to ſolicite the ſlaves about Norba and Cerceii to join them. They had prepared every thing for falling on the people while they were attentively engaged in the games that were ſoon to be celebrated at Setia: After they had maſſacre-

the Setini, and the conſternation was ſtill recent, they were to ſeize Norba and Cerceii. This horrid plot was diſcovered at Rome to L. Cornelius Merula the city prætor. Two ſlaves came to him in the night and fully revealed every ſtep that was already taken, and what more was to be done. He ordered them to be kept at his houſe, and having aſſembled the ſenate and laid his information before them, he was ordered to go and enquire into and ſuppreſs the plot. Accordingly he ſet out with five lieutenants, and obliged all he met in the fields to take the military oath and follow him. Thus with about 2000 men raiſed in haſte, he marched to Setia without any perſon's knowing whither he was going. Having immediately ſeized the ringleaders of the conſpiracy, all the ſlaves fled out of the city, and he ſent detachments through the country to bring them back. Two ſlaves and a perſon of free condition had the honor of making this diſcovery. The fathers ordered the latter to be rewarded with 100000 aſſes of braſs, and the ſlaves with 25000 and their liberty. Their price was paid to their maſters out of the public treaſury. Soon after advice arrived that the remains of theſe conſpirators intended to ſeize Præneſte. The prætor Cornelius went thither alſo, and puniſhed near 500 guilty perſons. The ſtate was afraid that the Carthaginian hoſtages and priſoners had formed this plot. In conſequence guard was kept in the ſtreets, the inferior magiſtrates ordered to patrol through them, and the triumviri to keep a ſtrict watch over the priſon called Latumiæ. The prætor alſo wrote to the Latine ſtates to keep the hoſtages locked up in private, and not to ſuffer them to walk abroad. It was alſo ordered to put the priſoners in irons not weighing under ten pounds, and only to be ſhut up in the public jail. CHAP. XXVI.

AT the ſame time deputies arrived from king Attalus with a crown of gold weighing 246 pounds, which they depoſited in the capitol. They thanked the ſenate, becauſe on the remonſtrances of their ambaſſadors, CHAP. XXVII.

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baſſadors, Antiochus had drawn off his troops from their maſter's frontiers. In the ſame campaign Maſiniſſa ſent 200 horſe, ten elephants and 200000 buſhels of wheat to the army in Greece. From Sardinia and Sicily likewiſe were ſent great quantities of proviſions and clothing for the army. M. Marcellus was prætor of Sicily, and M. Porcius Cato in Sardinia. The latter was an upright and moral man; and was only thought too ſevere in reſtraining uſury. He baniſhed all uſurers from the iſland, and utterly cut off and retrenched all the expence the allies uſed to be at for the entertainment of the prætor. The conſul Ælius returned from Gaul to preſide at the conſular-elections. The faſces were tranſfer'd to C. Cornelius Cethegus, and Q. Minucius Rufus. Then ſix prætors were choſen for the firſt time that year. The reaſon of this augmentation was the increaſe of the provinces, by the dominions of the empire being enlarged. The perſons raiſed to that office, were L. Manlius Vulſo, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Sergius Syllus, M. Helvius, M. Minucius Rufus and L. Atilius. Tuditanus and Helvius were plebeian ædiles. Q. Minucius Thermus, and T. Sempronius Longus were curule ædiles. The Roman games were acted four times over this year.

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C. Cornel. Cethegus, and Q. Minucius Rufus, conſuls. V. of R. 555. B. J.C. 197.

THE firſt act of the new conſuls was to move the ſenate to determine the conſular and prætorian provinces. The prætors, which could be done by lot, were firſt determined. Sergius got the juriſdiction of the city, and Minucius that over foreigners. Atilius got Sardinia; Manlius, Sicily; Tuditanus, Hither Spain; and Helvius, the Farther. When the conſuls were on the point of caſting lots for Macedonia and Italy, two plebeian ædiles, L. Oppius and Q. Fulvius, interpoſed. They repreſented, 'that 'Macedonia was a diſtant province; that nothing 'hitherto had been a greater let to the ſucceſsful 'proſecution of the war, than that the conſul of the 'preceding year was always recall'd juſt when he had 'entered upon action, or when he was moſt deeply

'engaged in it. The Macedonian war had now lasted four years. Sulpicius had spent the greatest part of his year in going in quest of the king and his army: Villius had been recalled when he was on the point of attacking the enemy: Flamininus had been detained by religious affairs the greatest part of his year; and yet he had acted so vigorously, that had he either gone sooner into his province, or the winter not been so near at hand, he would have terminated the war. Now he is retired into winter quarters, where it is reported he hath brought it to such a crisis, that if not prevented by a successor, he will put a final period to it next campaign.' By these speeches they prevailed with the consuls to consent to leave the matter to the determination of the senate, if the tribunes would do the same. As both sides left the senate to act as they pleased, they decreed, that the two consuls should have Italy for their province, and that Flamininus should continue in his command, till they should think fit to send him a successor. Then the consuls had two legions given them to make war on the Cisalpine Gauls who had revolted. They ordered also a reinforcement to be sent to Quinctius, in Macedonia, of 5000 foot, 300 horse and 3000 sailors; and they continued L. Quinctius in the command of the fleet in Greece. The prætors for Spain had 8000 Latine foot and 400 horse given them that they might disband the old army in that country, and were ordered to mark out the bounds which should divide the Hither from the Farther province. Sulpicius and Villius, who had both acted in Macedonia when consuls, were sent to act as lieutenant generals in the army there. CHAP. XXVII.

BEFORE the consuls and prætors set out for their provinces they were ordered to expiate the prodigies. The temples of Vulcan and Pluto at Rome, the gate and wall of Fregellæ, were struck with lightening: At Frusino a great light shone in the night: At Asculum a lamb was brought forth CHAP. XXIX.

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with two heads and five feet: Two wolves entered Formiæ, and tore to pieces ſeveral people whom they met: A wolf not only entered Rome but even the capitol. C. Acilius a Plebeian tribune made a motion for ſettling five colonies on the ſea coaſt; two at the mouth of the Vulturnus and Linternus, one at Puteoli, one at Salernum, and another at Pyxus. 3000 planters were ordered to be ſent to each of them. M. Servilius Geminus, Q. Minucius Thermus, and Ti. Sempronius Longus were appointed to ſettle them, and their commiſſion for that purpoſe was to laſt three years. After the levies, and every thing relating to religious or civil matters, under the cognizance of the conſuls, were ended, they ſet out for Gaul. Cornelius marched directly againſt the Inſubrians, who were up in arms, and had engaged the Cænomani to join them. Minucius took his rout to the left towards the lower ſea, and having marched to Genoa, opened the campaign by attacking the Ligurians. Four of their cities, Claſtidium, Litubium [a], Celela and Cerdicia [b] ſurrendered. And the whole country on this ſide the Po had ſubmitted excepting the Boii, who belong'd to the Gauls and the Ilvates [c], who belonged to the Ligurians. It is ſaid that fifteen towns and 20000 men ſurrendered at diſcretion.

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FROM thence he marched into the country of the Boii, whoſe army a little before had paſſed the Po, and join'd the Inſubrians and Cænomani. As they heard the conſuls were to act in conjunction, they reſolved to do the ſame. But the news that one of the Roman armies had enter'd the country of the Boii, occaſioned a ſedition among them. The Boii inſiſted that they ſhould in one united body fly to the relief of the place that was in danger. The Inſubrians poſitively refuſed to leave their own territories expoſed. In conſequence they divided their forces, the Boii marching back to defend their own dominions, while the Inſubrians in conjunction with

[a] *Ritorbio* in the *Milaneſe*. [b] Unknown both. [c] Unknown.

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the Cænomani encamp'd on the banks of the Minci- CHAP.
us. Five miles below them Cornelius encamped on XXX.
the ſame river. By ſending into the villages of the Cænomani, and Breſcia their capital, he was certify'd that their youth had taken up arms and join'd in the revolt of the Inſubrians without the conſent of their old men, or being authorized by their ſtate: ſo he ſent for their chiefs, and contrived means with them how to draw off their youth from the Inſubrians, and prevail with them either to return home or join the Romans. They could obtain neither; however they promiſed the conſul, that they would not act in the battle: and if there ſhould be occaſion they would aſſiſt the Romans. The Inſubrians were ignorant of this agreement; yet they began to ſuſpect the fidelity of their allies. Therefore in marſhalling their battle, they would not poſt them on either of the wings, for fear, if they treacherouſly deſerted, they ſhould occaſion the deſtruction of their army; but uſed them as a body of reſerve. In the beginning of the battle the conſul vowed a temple to Juno Soſpita, in caſe he ſhould rout and defeat the enemy that day. The troops ſet up a ſhout, aſſuring the conſul they would put it in his power to perform his vow, and then attacked with fury. The Inſubrians were not able to ſuſtain the firſt charge. Some annaliſts ſay, that in the heat of the action the Cænomani ſuddenly fell on them behind, and by this means ſtruck terror both into their front and rear: and that between them and the Romans 35000 Inſubrians were killed, and 5700 taken priſoners. Among the latter it is ſaid was Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general, author of the war. Above 130 ſtandards, and 200 chariots were taken. Then the cities, which had been drawn into the revolt, ſurrendered to the conqueror.

THE conſul Minucius ſpread fire and ſword CHAP.
over all the territories of the Boii at firſt: but then XXXI.
hearing that they had ſeparated from the Inſubrians, and were returned to protect their own country, he

CHAP. XXXI. kept within his lines, expecting to come to a pitched battle with them. Nor would they have declined it, if the news of the defeat of the Inſubrians had not quite diſcouraged them. But upon this they left their general and camp, and diſperſing through their villages, each for the defence of their own property, changed the manner of the war. For the conſul, ſeeing no hopes of coming to a deciſive action, begun to ravage the lands, burn the houſes, and ſack the villages. At that time Claſtidium was reduced to aſhes. Then he led his legions againſt the Ilvates, the only people who had not ſubmitted. But they likewiſe, hearing of the defeat of the Inſubrians, and that the Boii were ſo terrified, that they durſt not riſque a battle, ſurrendered to him. When the conſuls letters came to Rome with the news of theſe ſucceſſes, the city prætor read them firſt in the ſenate, and then by their order to the people. Upon which a ſupplication for four days was appointed.

CHAP. XXXII. IT was now winter which Flamininus, after the taking of Ælatia, ſpent at Locris and Phocis. In the mean time a warm conteſt broke out in the city of Opus; one faction was for ſubmitting to the Ætolians their neighbors, and the other to the Romans: but the Roman faction being the ſtrongeſt expell'd the Ætolian, and kept poſſeſſion of the town till the arrival of Flamininus for whom they ſent a courier. Philip's gariſon were in poſſeſſion of the citadel, which they would not quit for the menaces of the Opuntians, even when ſupported by a Roman conſul. The reaſon why it was not immediately beſieged was, that Philip ſent to demand an interview when and where it ſhould be agreed on. Flamininus conſented to it with reluctance. It was not becauſe he did not deſire to have it thought that he had terminated the war, either by force of arms or a treaty; (for he did not yet know, whether one of the conſuls would be ſent to ſuccede him, or whether he was to be continued in his command; which he

he had charged his friends to uſe their utmoſt efforts to procure for him) but he ſaw the conference would be for his intereſt, as it would leave him at liberty to proſecute the war in caſe he ſtaid, or hearken to a peace in caſe he ſhould leave the province. It was agreed the place of conference ſhould be on the ſea coaſt near Nicæa, a town on the Malaic gulph. Thither Philip came from Demetrias in a ſhip of war with five ſmall tenders. He had with him the principal Macedonian lords, and an exile named Cyclias, a perſon of great diſtinction. With the Roman general were king Amynander; Dionyſodorus, Attalus's deputy; Ageſimbrotus admiral of the Rhodian fleet, Phæneus chief of the Ætolians, and Ariſtænus and Xenophon two Achæans. Attended by them Flamininus went to the ſide of the water, while Philip appeared in the prow of his ſhip which rode at anchor. The conſul ſaid, 'It would be more convenient if you ſhould come aſhore; we could hear 'and confer better with each other.' The king refuſed. Quinctius continued, 'which of us do you 'fear?' 'None but the immortal Gods, reply'd 'the king haughtily, and with an air of majeſty; 'but I ſee with you ſome, whom I cannot truſt, 'and eſpecially the Ætolians.' 'The danger is e-'qual on both ſides, anſwered Flamininus, there are 'always riſques run in conferring with enemies.' 'Ay, 'Quinctius, ſaid the king, but the prize of treachery 'is not the ſame (if it was come to that) for kill-'ing Philip and Phæneas. Were he dead, the Æto-'lians could eaſily chuſe another prætor in his room; 'but were I murdered, the Macedonians could not 'ſo readily find a king to ſuccede me.'

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THERE enſued a profound ſilence for ſome time on both ſides. The Roman pro-conſul, thought it reaſonable that he who aſked the conference ſhould ſpeak firſt: The king inſiſted that it belong'd to him who was to preſcribe the terms, not to him that was to accept them. Upon this Flamininus ſaid, 'I ſhall be ſhort and plain in what I am going to

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'say, and if my conditions are not accepted, no peace 'can be granted. You shall evacuate all the cities 'of Greece, and restore the allies of Rome all their 'prisoners and deserters. To my republic you shall 'restore all the places in Illyricum, which you have 'seized since the peace made in Epirus: and to Pto-'lemy king of Ægypt all the towns you have taken 'from him since the death of Ptolemy Philopater. 'These are the conditions the Roman people and I 'insist upon. But farther it is reasonable to hear the 'demands of our allies.' Then Attalus's minister demanded, 'that he should restore all the ships and 'prisoners taken in the naval engagement off Chios; 'replant the wood of Nicephorus, which he had 'cut down, and rebuild the temple of Venus, which 'he had demolished.' The Rhodians demanded 'the restitution of Peræa, a maritime city lying op-'posite to them, and which formerly belonged to 'them, evacuate Iasso, Bargyliæ, Eurome, cities of 'Caria, and Sestos and Abydos in the Hellespont, 'and restore Perinthus to it's former subjection to 'the Byzantians, and give up all the sea ports he 'was master of in Asia.' The Achæans demanded back 'Corinth and Argos.' After Phæneas, the Ætolian prætor, had, in the same manner as the pro-consul had done, insisted, 'that he should evacuate all 'Greece, and restore the Ætolians all the cities that 'had formerly belonged to them,' Alexander the principal man of that nation spoke next. He was as great an orator as could be expected among the Ætolians. 'I have hitherto been silent, said he, 'not from an expectation that we should finally con-'clude any thing at this conference, but because I 'would not interrupt any of the allies when they 'were speaking. Philip neither treats of peace with 'sincerity, nor makes war with real valor. He is 'captious and ensnaring in his conferences; in war 'he avoids a decisive action on fair ground; but 'constantly retreats, rifling and burning towns, ar-'rogating to himself when vanquished the reward

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'that belong to the conquerors. This was not the 'practice of the ancient kings of Macedonia; they 'uſed to fight pitched battles, and ſpare cities as 'much as was in their power, that they might not 'impoveriſh their conqueſts. It is acting fooliſhly 'to deſtroy the ſubject in debate, and leave nothing 'behind but fighting for the ſake of war! Philip had 'ſacked more towns in Theſſaly belonging to his 'allies in the late campaign, than all the enemies 'that ever Theſſaly had, had done. Nay he took 'more from the Ætolians, when he was in alliance 'with them, than when he was their enemy. He 'had ſeized Lyſimachia after driving the Ætolian 'prætor and gariſon out of it. He alſo had demo-'liſhed and razed Chios, a city ſubject to himſelf. 'By like treachery he ſtands poſſeſt of Thebes in 'Phthiotis, Echinum, Lariſſa and Pharſalus.'

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THIS ſpeech of Alexander's galled Philip ſo extremely, that he ordered his ſhip to warp nearer the ſhore, that he might be the better heard. He began to enveigh moſt bitterly againſt the Ætolians, but was interrupted by Phæneas, who ſaid, 'You 'trifle, you muſt either conquer in war, or ſubmit 'to the ſtronger.' Philip ſmartly reply'd, 'that is 'clear, even to a blind man.' By this he ridiculed Phæneas who had weak eyes. The king was naturally a lover of a jeſt, but this was beneath the dignity of a crowned head, and unſeaſonable amidſt ſerious deliberations. But then he fell into a paſſion. 'The 'Ætolians, ſaid he, like the Romans, command 'me to evacuate Greece; but they cannot point out 'the boundaries of Greece. The countries of the 'Agræi, Apodeotes, and Amphilochians, which are 'the greateſt part of the Ætolian dominions, are 'not within Greece. Can they juſtly complain that 'I have not ſpared their allies? Is it not an ancient 'eſtabliſhed cuſtom among them to ſuffer their 'youth, provided they are not authorized by a pub-'lic act of the ſtate, to fight againſt their allies? 'And are not Ætolian auxiliaries often ſeen fighting

CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXIV.

'in two oppoſite armies? I did not take Chios, and
'only aſſiſted Pruſias my friend and ally in beſieg-
'ing it: Lyſimachia I took from the Thracians. But
'as the exigencies of the preſent war would not ſuf-
'fer me to put a gariſon there, the Thracians are
'now in poſſeſſion of it. Let this ſuffice in anſwer to
'the Ætolians. But as to Attalus and the Rhodians,
'what right have they to demand any thing of me?
'They, not I, were aggreſſors in the war. Yet out
'of regard to the Romans, I will reſtore to the lat-
'ter Peræa, and to the former ſuch of his ſhips and
'priſoners, as ſtill remain. As to the wood of Ni-
'cephorus and temple of Venus, what can I anſwer?
'Yet ſince ſuch trifles are inſiſted on by kings, I
'will make the only juſt recompence can be made
'for groves and woods that are cut down, I will re-
'plant them.' Then he concluded with a ſolemn addreſs to the Achæans. 'In the firſt place he re-
'minded them of the obligations they lay under to
'Antigonus his guardian, and next the favors
'they had received from himſelf, deſiring them to
'read their own decrees in return for them, decrees
'by which they had beſtowed on him both human
'and divine honors. Then he mentioned that they
'had made a decree, ordering their army to march to
'Corinth, when they fell off from him, inveighing bit-
'terly againſt their perfidy. However, ſaid he, I will
'reſtore you Argos. As to Corinth, I muſt confer
'with the Roman general, and aſk him if he thinks
'it reaſonable that I ſhould not only evacuate theſe
'cities which I poſſeſs by right of conqueſt in war,
'but thoſe alſo, which I enjoy by right of ſucceſſion
'to my progenitors.'

CHAP. XXXV.

ABOUT ſunſet, when the Achæans and Ætolians were preparing to anſwer, they agreed to adjourn the conference till next day: ſo Philip warp'd out to the road from which he came, and the proconſul with the allies went to their camp. Next morning Quinctius came punctually to the time and place appointed. But neither Philip nor any meſſenger from hi

him appeared for several hours. At last, when they had despaired of his coming, his ships came in sight. He excused himself with saying, 'that as he had 'none to assist him with their counsels, he had spent 'the day deliberating by himself.' However it was generally believed, that he had purposely stay'd so long, not to give the Achæans and Ætolians time to answer. He himself confirmed this belief, by desiring, that every body else might be removed to prevent wasting the time in mutual altercations, and the conference might be between him and Flamininus only. This was not agreed to at first, that the allies might not seem to be excluded from it. But when the king persisted in the demand, they all consented to retire and let Flamininus and Ap. Claudius a legionary tribune go to the water side. Then the king, with the two courtiers that attended him the day before, came on shore. After the king and pro-consul had conferred some time in private, none know what account Philip gave his people of what passed; but Flamininus told the allies, 'that he of-'fered to give up all the coasts of Illyricum to the 'Romans, deliver up their deserters, and send back 'the prisoners he had. To Attalus he would restore 'his ships and sailors he had taken; and to the Rho-'dians the district of Perœa, but not Jassos and Bar-'giliæ; Pharsalus and Larissa, but not Thebes, to 'the Ætolians; and to the Achæans not only Argos 'but Corinth.' Not one of the parties to whom he was to make these restitutions, was pleased with them. 'By accepting these conditions, said they, we shall 'be greater losers than gainers; and till Philip total-'ly evacuate Greece, there never will be wanting 'grounds for a war.' CHAP. XXXV.

AS the whole assembly together uttered this a-loud, Philip heard the clamor as he was standing at a distance. For this reason he desired the pro-consul to postpone the final determination till next day, when he would certainly convince him of the reasonableness of his concessions, or suffer himself to be persuaded by CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVI.

by his reaſons to the contrary. Thronium on the coaſt was appointed to be the place of their meeting, and thither they came very early. Philip firſt exhorted Flamininus, and then all who were preſent, not to diſturb the hopes of peace. At laſt he deſired a ceſſation of arms to ſend ambaſſadors to the ſenate at Rome. From them he would either obtain peace 'on theſe conditions, or he would accept whatever 'terms the fathers ſhould be pleaſed to grant him.' All except the pro-conſul declared that Philip hereby only ſought delays, in order to draw together a greater force. But Flamininus repreſented, 'that it's 'being winter, and a ſeaſon not fit for acting, remov-'ed all ſuſpicion of that being his real motive, and 'that it could be no detriment to them to grant him 'time for ſending an embaſſy: For no articles we 'can now agree on with Philip can be valid without 'the ſenate's ratification, and this we may obtain 'while the winter obliges us to refrain hoſtilities.' All the other deputies agreed to this, and a truce was granted Philip for two months. However each of them reſolved to ſend deputies to warn the ſenate to be on their guard againſt the fraudulent artifices of the king. By a ſeparate article in the truce Philip was immediately to evacuate Phocis and Locris. With the allies deputies Flamininus ſent Amynander king of the Athamanes, and as deputies from himſelf Q. Fabius, ſon of Quinctius's wife's ſiſter, Q. Fulvius and Appius Claudius.

CHAP. XXXVII.

WHEN they arrived at Rome the allies deputies had audience before the king's. Their whole ſpeech was full of invectives againſt the king. What made the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the fathers, was clearly demonſtrating from the ſituation of the places on the coaſt and inland, that Greece never could be free, while Philip continued in poſſeſſion of Demetrias in Theſſaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia; nay he himſelf, with as much truth as ſneer, uſed to call them the fetters of Greece. Then the king's ambaſſadors were introduced. As they were beginning

ning a long harangue, they were interrupted by this ſhort queſtion, 'Will the king, your maſter, give up 'theſe three cities?' When they anſwered, 'they had 'no inſtructions as to that matter,' they were diſmiſſed without obtaining peace. Quinctius had full powers ſent him to proſecute the war, or make peace, as he ſhould think proper. Then to ſhew the world that the ſenate was not weary of the war, and that he himſelf deſired the glory of conquering more than peace, he for the future granted Philip no more conferences, and declared he would permit none of his deputies to come near him, unleſs they came with full powers to give up all Greece.

PHILIP, perceiving that he muſt take the field and draw together what force he could, eſpecially from the cities of Achaia which lay remote from him, and being more ſolicitous to preſerve Argos than Corinth, thought it would be beſt to put Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon in poſſeſſion of it, on condition it ſhould be reſtored to him if he came off conqueror in the war, but if any misfortune ſhould happen to him Nabis ſhould keep it. He wrote to Philocles governor of Corinth and Argos, to go in perſon and ſign this convention with him. Beſides the preſent this general carry'd with him, to enſure the amity between the two princes for the future, he added of his own proper motion, that the king would give his daughters in marriage to Nabis's ſons. The tyrant at firſt refuſed, to accept of the city on any terms, except he was invited by a decree of the Argians themſelves to come and protect them. But afterwards when he heard they not only deſpiſed, but in a full aſſembly declared their abhorrence of the very name of the tyrant, he imagined he was now furniſhed with a pretext to plunder them, and ſo told Philocles he was ready to receive the town when he pleaſed. Nabis was received into the city in the night without the knowledge of any of the inhabitants. At day break he ſeized all the eminences, and ordered CHAP. XXXVIII.

ordered the gates to be ſhut. A ſmall number of the principal men having eſcaped by favor of the firſt conſternation, their effects were plundered. From thoſe that ſtaid he extorted all their gold and ſilver. They who willingly delivered them up, were diſmiſſed without reproaches and being tortured; but thoſe whom he ſuſpected of concealing or keeping back any part of it, he put to the rack and cruelleſt tortures. Then he ſummoned an aſſembly and publiſhed two edicts: by the firſt he cancel'd all debts, and by the ſecond divided the lands, giving each man an equal ſhare. By theſe innovations he ſet the poor againſt the rich.

CHAP. XXXIX.

AS ſoon as he was in poſſeſſion of the city, he forgot from whom or on what conditions he had received it; for he ſent deputies to Quinctius at Elatia, and Attalus at Ægina, to inform them that he was abſolute maſter of it, and if they would come there, he did not doubt but to make a convention with them to their ſatisfaction. Quinctius, that he might alſo deprive Philip of that ſtrong city, ſent back word he would come, and ſent to Attalus to meet him at Sicyon, for which city he ſet ſail from Anticyra with 10 quinqueremes, which his brother L. Quinctius had luckily brought from Corcyra. Attalus was there before him, and on his arrival repreſented, that the tyrant ought to come to the Roman general and not the latter to the former. By this means he prevailed on Flamininus not to enter Argos. Not far from it ſtood the city of Mycenæ; this city they appointed for the congreſs. Thither repaired the pro-conſul with his brother and ſome legionary tribunes, Attalus attended by the lords of his court, and Nicoſtratus prætor of Achæa, with a ſmall number of auxiliaries. Here they found the tyrant waiting with all his forces. He came forth armed and ſurrounded by his guards: Quinctius came unarmed with his brother and two legionary tribunes; Attalus, one of his courtiers, and the Achæan prætors came all with unarmed attendants. The tyrant

begun

begun with apologizing, 'for coming armed and with 'guards, when he ſaw the Roman general and king 'Attalus without them: he was not afraid of them, 'but of the Argian exiles.' When they came to treat of an alliance, Flamininus inſiſted on two conditions; that he ſhould ceaſe hoſtilities altogether againſt the Achæans; and ſend him ſuccors againſt Philip. The latter he readily conſented to; but ſaid, he would in lieu of a peace grant the Achæans a truce till the war with Philip ſhould be terminated.

ATTALUS raiſed a warm diſpute about Argos: He ſaid it had been betray'd by Philocles, and the tyrant kept poſſeſſion of it by force: Nabis anſwered, he had been ſent for by the Argians themſelves to protect them. To know the truth of this Attalus demanded they ſhould be aſſembled. The tyrant did not refuſe: but the king inſiſted that he ſhould by withdrawing his gariſon and all the Lacedæmonians, leave the aſſembly free, that the Argians might ſpeak their ſentiments without reſtraint. Nabis refuſed to withdraw his gariſon. And the congreſs broke up without determining this controverſy. The tyrant gave Flamininus 600 Cretans, and agreed to a four months truce with the prætor of Achæa. From thence the pro-conſul went to Corinth, and went up to the gate with the cohort of Cretans, to ſhew Philocles, governor of the town, that Nabis had deſerted his maſter. Philocles alſo had an interview with Flamininus. When the pro-conſul urged him to quit the intereſt of Philip and yield the city, he ſeemed by his anſwer rather to aſk time to deliberate than abſolutely to refuſe. The Roman went from Corinth to Anticyra, from whence he ſent his brother to ſound the inclinations of the Acarnanians. Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. Here the citizens loaded him with new honors: and he, though he had at a great expence redeemed to them the fields ſacred to Apollo, would not now paſs by his friends and allies without giving them ſome marks of his royal bounty: He gave them ten talents of ſilver and ten thouſand CHAP. XL.

ſand meaſures of corn. After this he ſet ſail for Cenchrea. Nabis, leaving a ſtrong gariſon at Argos, returned to Sparta, and as he had ſtript the men, he ſent his wife to plunder the women. She invited them to her palace, ſometimes one by one, and at other times many related to one another, together: there by cajolings and menaces ſhe not only ſtript them of their gold, but at laſt of their rich clothes, and all their jewels and fine trinkets.

BOOK XXXIII.

The pro-conſul T. Quinctius Flamininus terminates the war with Philip after having defeated him in a pitched battle at Cynoſcephalæ in Theſſaly. Q. Quinctius the pro-conſul's brother after having taken Leucas the capital of Acarnania, receives the ſubmiſſion of the Acarnanians. The prætor C. Sempronius Tuditanus cut off with his army by the Celtiberians. Attalus, falling ſuddenly ſick at Thebes, is removed thence to Pergamus where he dies. Peace granted to Philip on his humble requeſt, and liberty to Greece. The conſuls L. Furius Purpureo and M. Claudius Marcellus ſubdue the Boii and Inſubrian Gauls. Marcellus triumphs for them. Hannibal diſappointed in his endeavors to raiſe a war in Africa, and accuſed to the Romans by letters from the chiefs of the oppoſite faction, for fear of the Romans who had ſent deputies to the ſenate of Carthage concerning him, flies to Antiochus, king of Syria, who was preparing to make war on them.

CHAP. I.

THESE were the tranſactions during the winter. Early in the ſpring Flamininus, deſirous of reducing the Bœotians, who yet fluctuated in their affections, ſent for Attalus to Elatia, and croſſing the country of Phocis, encamp'd five miles from Thebes [a] the capital of Bœotia. Next day he left his quarters, and under an eſcorte of one manipulus advanced towards the city, accompany'd by king Attalus and the deputies which flock'd to him from all the cities of Greece. He ordered 2000 haſtati to

[a] Now a paltry village called *Ttibes*.

follow

follow him at a mile's distance. Antiphilus prætor of the Bœotians met him about the middle of the way. All the rest of the inhabitants, mostly without arms and but few soldiers with them, ran to the ramparts to see the arrival of the Roman general and the king of Pergamos. The windings of the roads, and the hills between them and the city, hid the hastati who followed him. When he drew near the town he marched much slower under pretext of saluting the crowd that came out to meet him, but in reality to give the hastati time to come up. As a lictor drove the crowd before him, the inhabitants did not perceive the detachment of soldiers that followed him till they had received him into the place. But then they were confounded, imagining that their prætor Antiphilus had betray'd the city, and that they would not be at liberty to act as they pleased in their diet that was to meet next day. However they dissembled their uneasiness, because it would have been in vain and dangerous to have shewn it. CHAP. I.

ATTALUS spoke first in the assembly. He with a zealous vehemence put them in mind of the good offices his ancestors and he had done all Greece, and in particular the Bœotians. But being old and infirm he fell down in an apoplectic fit, which took away his speech. The assembly was a little interrupted, while they raised and brought the king to himself. Then Aristænus prætor of the Achæans spoke. His speech had the greater influence, as he gave the Bœotians the same advice he had given his own countrymen. Flamininus himself made a short speech, extolling the fidelity rather than the arms or power of his republic. Then Dicæarchus, deputy from Platææ [a], moved that they should enter into an alliance with the Romans, and as none durst oppose it, it was agreed to and ratified by all the states of Bœotia. The Roman general staid no longer at Thebes than Attalus's misfortune obliged him; and CHAP. II.

[a] It stood on the banks of *Asopus* between *Thebes* and mount *Cytheron*. It is famous for the defeat of *Xerxes*'s army.

ſeeing him paſt danger of preſent death, and that he had only loſt the uſe of ſome of his limbs, he left him there to be cured, and returned to Elatia from whence he came. Since the Bœotians, in like manner as the Achæans, had entered into a confederacy with him, and he had left no enemy behind him, he bent his thoughts wholly againſt Philip who had taken the field.

CHAP. III. THE Macedonian, as his ambaſſadors had returned from Rome without having obtained peace, very early in the ſpring begun to make levies through all his towns. But he found his dominions exhauſted of men. The continual wars in which Macedon had been engaged for ſeveral ages, and even during his own reign, had ſwept them away. Great numbers had been killed in his battles by ſea with the Rhodians and Attalus, and by land with the Romans. He was therefore obliged to liſt youth of ſixteen, and the ſurperannuated men, who had retired from the ſervice but had ſtill ſome ſtrength remaining, to return to their colors. Having in this manner recruited his army, he drew all his troops about the vernal equinox to Dium [a]. There he encamped and exerciſing his men waited for the enemy. Quinctius, having ſet out about the ſame time from Elatia, paſſed by Thronium and Scarphea [b], and arrived at Thermopylæ. There he ſummoned a diet of the Ætolians to meet at Heraclea, to deliberate how many auxiliary troops they ſhould furniſh the Romans. As ſoon as he knew the quotas they had agreed on, he ſet out on the third day from Heraclea to Xyniæ, and encamping on the confines of Ænium and Theſſaly, waited there for the coming up of the Ætolian auxiliaries. They ſoon arrived to the number of 2000 foot and 400 horſe. To ſhew what he waited for, he that inſtant decamped, and continued his rout through Phthiotis, being joined there by 500 Cretans of Gortyna [c], and 300 Apollo-

[a] In *Pieria* near the *Thermaic* gulph. [b] Now *Bondoniza*, on the *Malaic* gulph. [c] Now *Gurtina*.

niate

niates all armed alike. Soon after Amynander brought him 1200 Athamanians.

CHAP. IV.

PHILIP, having had notice of the Romans departure from Elatia, and ſeeing a deciſive battle would enſue, thought proper to harangue his troops. After inſiſting long on the bravery their anceſtors had ſhewn on ſeveral occaſions, and on the reputation the Macedonians had as ſoldiers, he came to touch on what frightened them moſt at that time, and on what might inſpire them with courage and hopes of ſucceſs. To balance the defeat of the Macedonian phalanx in the defile of the Aoüs, he put in the oppoſite ſcale the Romans repulſe before Atrax. In the firſt place, he laid the blame of their not maintaining the paſs of Epirus, on the negligence of thoſe who guarded it; and in the ſecond place charged the loſs of the battle on the mercenaries and light-armed troops. For even there the phalanx had ſtood firm, and would always remain invincible on fair ground and in a pitched battle. This phalanx conſiſted of 16000 men, the ſtrength and flower of the army and all the kingdom. Beſides he had 2000 men that bore light bucklers in form of a half moon, which are called peltai; 2000 Thracians and Illyrians from Trallia, and about 1000 foot and 2000 horſe hired from different nations. The Romans were about the ſame number, only, by the acceſſion of the Ætolians, they were ſuperior in cavalry.

CHAP. V.

THE Roman general, having removed to Thebes [a] in Phthiotis, and conceiving hopes of having it betray'd to him by Timon the chief man of it, approached the walls with a ſmall body of horſe and light armed troops. But his hopes were fruſtrated, and he was not only engaged in a fierce rencounter with thoſe that ſally'd, but in great danger of being cut off. He was relieved by ſeaſonable ſupports of horſe and foot detached from his camp. Having miſſed his aim in this raſh enterprize, he gave over all thoughts of making farther attempts on the town

[a] On the gulph of *Pelaſgus*, now *Zeiton*.

CHAP. V. at that time. Though he knew that Philip was come into Theſſaly, yet being uncertain as to the particular diſtrict, he ordered paliſades to be cut down and prepared in order to form lines. The Greeks and Macedonians do uſe lines, but very inconvenient, weak and defenceleſs. For they cut down young buſhy trees, no larger than a ſoldier can carry together with his arms; and as that is all the fortifications they uſe to their camp, they are eaſily removed. For as they are planted at a diſtance and pretty high, with many ſtrong branches which can be eaſily laid hold of, two or at moſt three men can pull up one, and when it is up it makes a great breach. So that as nothing is ready to fill up the gap, it affords an eaſy entrance to an enemy. On the contrary the Romans uſe light forked ſtakes with three or at moſt four branches, that the ſoldiers, flinging their arms behind, might carry a great number of them. Theſe they ſet very thick, and twiſt the branches ſo cloſe that it is not poſſible to ſee the end of the ſtake that ſhould be laid hold of. Beſides the branches are ſo ſharp pointed and ſo cloſely twiſted that no ſpace is left to thruſt a hand between; ſo that it is impoſſible to lay hold of any thing to pull at, or to drag any of them out, they are ſo twiſted and faſtened together. And if by accident one ſhould be pulled out, it leaves no great void, and it is eaſy to put another in it's room.

CHAP. VI. NEXT day Flamininus marched a ſhort way with his troops furniſhed with ſtakes that they might be ready to make lines in any ground, and encamped within ſix miles of Pheræ. Thence he ſent a detachment to ſee in what part of Theſſaly the enemy was, and to penetrate their deſigns. The king was then at Lariſſa, whence, being certainly informed that the Romans had left Thebes and were come to Pheræ, and deſirous to come to a battle, he advanced towards them, and encamped within four miles of it. Next day both ſent out light armed detachments to ſeize the eminences above the town. But ſpying each

other

other about the middle of the way to the poſt they were to take, they halted, and waited quietly for the return of meſſengers they had ſent to their reſpective camps for orders how to behave, ſince beyond expectation they had met with the enemy. That day they were ordered back to their lines without coming to blows. Next day the cavalry engaged near the hills beforementioned, and principally by the bravery of the Ætolians the royal horſe were routed and driven to their lines. However both ſides were prevented from coming to a pitched battle by the country all around being thick ſet with trees, full of gardens, ſo common near towns, and the roads narrow in ſome places, and in others quite ſtopt up with ruined houſes. In conſequence both generals formed the ſame deſign of quitting that ground, and as if by concert marched to Scotuſſa; Philip to reap the corns there, while the Roman endeavored to get before him in order to ſpoil the fields. They marched a whole day without ſeeing each other, being divided by a ridge of hills. The Romans encamped at Eretria in Phthiotis, and Philip on the banks of the Oncheſtus. Next day when Philip arrived at Melambium, near Scotuſſa, and Flamininus at Thetidium near Pharſalus, neither of them knew where the other was. On the third day a great rain and a fog, ſo thick that it was as dark as night, intimidated the Romans from decamping. CHAP. VI.

PHILIP, as ſoon as the rain ceaſed, without being afraid of the fog, marched away in order to get before the enemy. But the fog was ſo thick and occaſioned ſo great darkneſs, that the enſign-bearers could neither ſee the road, nor his ſoldiers their colors, but blindly followed the ſhouts of the advanced guard as in a night-march. However they paſſed the hills called Cynocephalæ [a], and there encamped under a ſtrong guard of horſe and foot. Though the Roman had remained in his lines at Thetidium, yet he detached ten troops of horſe and 1000 foot to diſco- CHAP. VII.

[a] Naturally ſhaped like Dogs-heads, and thence ſo called.

CHAP. VII.

ver the enemy, with ſtrict orders to beware of falling into ambuſcades, which could not be diſcovered in that champaign country by reaſon of the thick fog. When they arrived at the eminences poſſeſſed by the enemy, they mutually quaked for fear, and remained unactive as if they had been benumbed. Then they ſent advice to their reſpective camps, and as ſoon as the firſt terror, occaſioned by falling in unawares with each other, abated, they began to ſkirmiſh. Only a few were engaged at firſt, but the battle ſoon encreaſed by the ſupports ſent to thoſe that gave way. The Romans were puſhed, and ſent aid du camp after aid du camp, to tell their general that they were hard preſſed. But the ſpeedy arrival of 500 horſe, moſtly Ætolians, under the command of two legionary tribunes, reinſtated the battle on their ſide. Fortune changed ſides, and the Macedonians being hard put to it ſent to their king for aſſiſtance. But as he had ſent out moſt of his troops to forage that day, expecting nothing leſs than a battle by reaſon of the fog, he remained ſome time in ſuſpence. Yet being preſſed by the meſſengers, and the fog being diſperſed on the tops of the hills, ſo that he could ſee the Macedonians driven cloſe together on the higheſt hill, and defended rather by the natural ſituation of the ground than their arms, he conſidered that if he ſhould not riſque all, their detachment would be cut off, and ſo detached one of his generals, Athenagoras, with all the mercenary infantry, except the Thracians, and the whole of the Macedonian and Theſſalian horſe, to ſuſtain them. When this reinforcement arrived they repulſed the Romans from the hill, without ſuffering them to rally till they got into the plain. The Ætolian horſe covered them, otherwiſe they had been put to a moſt ſhameful flight. They were at that time by far the beſt horſe in Greece, but their neighbors excelled them far in fighting on foot.

CHAP. VIII.

A PREMATURE account of the victory being brought to Philip, by ſome who rode back one after

after another from the field to the camp, crying, that the Romans fled in a panic, were backward and hesitated, saying the action was rash, and that the time and ground was not suitable for them, induced him to lead out all his troops. The Roman general did the same rather by necessity, than invited by a good opportunity to fight. He left his right wing, covered by a line of elephants drawn up in it's front, as a body of reserve, and advanced with the left and all the light armed troops against the enemy. He told his men, 'they were to engage the same Macedo-'nians, who, after conquering the natural difficulty 'of the place, they had beat and driven out of their 'lines at the entrance to Epirus, covered by hills and 'rivers; whom they had vanquished under the con-'duct of Sulpicius, when they were posted in the pass 'by which they entered Eordea. Reputation, not 'real strength and valor, had hitherto supported the 'kingdom of Macedon, and even that reputation 'would at last vanish.' By this time he was come up to his own men, who were standing at the farthermost side of the valley. Upon the arrival of their general with his army they renewed the attack, and obliged the enemy to retire. Philip then advanced apace against the enemy with his cetrati and the right wing of his foot, which was called a phalanx, and was the flower of his army. He ordered Nicanor, one of his household, to follow him immediately with the rest of the troops. When he got to the top of the hill, which he saw had been the scene of action by a few dead bodies of the enemy that lay there, and observed that they had been driven from thence and were fighting almost before their lines, he leapt for joy. But seeing soon after his own men in their turn flying in consternation, he for some time quaked for fear, and continued in suspence whether to retreat to his camp or not. But as the enemy advanced so fast, that none of those who fled, besides many of them being cut to pieces, could be preserved if he did not cover them, and even that he himself could not now retreat with

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safety, he was obliged before the rest of his troops came up to venture a general battle, having posted the horse and light armed troops, that had been already engaged, in the right wing. He ordered the troops that bore bucklers in form of a half moon, and the Macedonian phalanx to throw aside their pikes, which could be of no service by reason of their length, and fall on sword in hand. At the same time to prevent it from being easily broken he took away half of it's front, and doubling the innermost ranks, contracted it in breadth, and enlarged it in depth. He thereby made it's ranks so close, that man was join'd to man, and armor to armor.

CHAP. IX.

QUINCTIUS sounded a retreat for his men who were engaged, and received them into the intervals of the ranks. Seldom so great a shout has been set up as was in the beginning of this action; for it happened that both armies shouted at once; and not only those who were engaged, but the bodies of reserve, and especially those who were advancing to the attack. In the right wing, where Philip commanded in person, his troops, by the advantage of the ground, were victorious. On his left, where the rear of the phalanx had just arrived without being formed, there was great confusion and disorder. The center, which was nearer the right, looked idly on, as if it had had no concern in the action. The phalanx on the left had scarce yet reached the top, and rather formed for a march than a battle. Tho' Quinctius saw the foot on his left giving way, yet convinced that if one wing of the enemy was routed it would draw the rest after it, he advanced with his elephants first, and then attacked with his whole right the enemy's left that was not formed. Victory was not long in declaring itself. The Macedonians, being first terrified by the elephants, fled, and the rest followed them in their rout. Then a Roman legionary tribune form'd a sudden resolution. Breaking off from that part of his own army which was already completely victorious, he fetched a small

compass

compaſs and charged the enemy's right in the rear with twenty companies. An attack in the rear would have put any corps into diſorder. But beſides all other cauſes of fear in ſuch circumſtances, it muſt be conſidered that the phalanx, by it's weight and compact order, could not face about; and more particularly, ſince the Romans, who a little before had been puſhed by it's front, now preſſed it vigorouſly. Beſides, the ground was a great diſadvantage to them; for having come down from the hill, on which they fought, in purſuit of the enemy who fled, they were now a prey to the enemy who had come round to their rear. For ſome little time they were ſlaughtered in the middle, but the greateſt part ſoon threw down their arms and took to flight. CHAP. IX.

AT the firſt Philip had gone to the top of the higheſt hill with a few horſe, in order to ſee what had happened to his left. But when he ſaw the general rout of his army, and the Roman colors and arms glittering round the eminence where he was, he alſo left the battle. Quinctius, obſerving the Macedonians on a ſudden holding up their pikes, halted a little as he was purſuing the enemy, uncertain what they meant by that motion, and ſtruck with the novelty of it. Then being informed that this was the Macedonians manner of aſking quarter, he was at firſt reſolved to ſpare them. But his troops, who neither underſtood his inclination, nor that the enemy had yielded, fell upon them, and having ſlaughtered thoſe who were next them, the reſt fled. The king fled in great precipitation to Tempe. He halted one day at Gonni, for the coming up of thoſe who had eſcaped from the battle. The victorious Romans ruſhed into the enemy's camp in hopes of booty, but found it already plundered by the Ætolians. In that battle were ſlain of Philip's army 8000, and 5000 taken priſoners. The conquerors loſt near 700. If we believe Valerius Antias, who exaggerates every thing, the enemy had CHAP. X.

had 40000 men slain, and, in which he is more modest, 5700 taken prisoners, with 241 standards. Claudius even says, that 32000 of the enemy were killed, and 4300 made prisoners. I could not even credit the last, though least exaggerated account, but have followed Polybius, an author deserving of the greatest credit in every thing relating to the affairs of the Romans, but more especially in relation to those of Greece.

CHAP. XI.

WHEN those of Philip's army, which had been dispersed different ways according to their posts and fate in the battle, were arrived, and he had dispatched an express to burn his papers at Larissa, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, he retired into Macedonia. Quinctius, after having sold part of the booty and prisoners, and given the rest to his troops, marched to Larissa, as he was not yet very certain whither the king had gone, or what steps he would take. Hither came a trumpet from the king under pretence of asking a truce to bury the dead, but in reality, to ask permission to send deputies in order to peace. The pro-consul granted both, and farther desired to tell the king 'not to despair.' This highly offended the Ætolians, who in a rage complained, "that the late victory had entirely "changed the pro-consul's disposition. Before he "used to communicate all his designs great and small "with his allies; but now consulted them in no-"thing, and was entirely governed by his own will. "He was seeking an opportunity of privately oblig-"ing Philip, that though they had sustained all the "burden and hardships of the war, the Romans alone "might have the merit, and reap the fruits of the "peace." Without all question by this conduct he in a manner affronted them, but why, they did not know. They believed the pro-consul, who in truth was invincible to avarice and covetousness, was in expectation of great presents from the king. But he had reason to be angry with the Ætolians for their insatiable avidity in taking all the booty, and arrog-

ting to themſelves all the glory of the victory, which vanity of theirs offended the ears of every body. Beſides he clearly perceived, if the power of the Macedonians ſhould once be reduced, the Ætolians would lord it over Greece. For theſe reaſons he did many things to leſſen their credit and make them appear mean and contemptible with all men.

THE enemy had a truce granted them for fifteen days, and a conference with the king was appointed. But before the time of holding it Flamininus called a council of the allies, and aſked them, upon what terms they thought it would be proper to grant a peace to the Macedonian. Amynander king of the Athamanians briefly declared; he ſhould be pleaſed 'with any terms, that ſhould enſure peace and li-'berty to Greece after the Romans ſhould retire.' But the Ætolians were not ſo moderate. In the firſt place they remarked, 'the wiſdom and juſtice of 'the Roman general in conſulting thoſe who had 'been his allies in the war, about the peace. But 'he greatly deceived himſelf, if he imagined the 'Romans could have a durable peace, or that he 'could leave Greece in aſſured liberty without ei-'ther killing or dethroning Philip. He had it in 'his power to do either with eaſe if he pleaſed.' Quinctius anſwered, 'that the Ætolians had forgot 'the Roman manners, and given a contrary advice 'to what they uſed to do. In all former counſels 'and conferences about a peace, they had declared 'againſt carrying things to extremities. And as for 'the Romans, beſides their immemorial practice of 'ſparing conquered enemies, they had given the 'ſtrongeſt proof of their clemency in granting peace 'to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But let us 'wave the inſtance of the Carthaginians. In all our 'conferences with Philip, no mention was ever made 'about dethroning him. Becauſe we have con-'quered him in battle, muſt we with unabating in-'veteracy puſh on the war to the laſt extremity?

CHAP. XII.

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CHAP. XII.

'It is right to meet an enemy in arms with resent-
'ment and indignation, but great souls are mild af-
'ter conquest. But it seems the kings of Macedon
'appear to be obstacles to the liberty of Greece. If
'this kingdom and nation is destroy'd, the barbar-
'ous and savage people of Thrace, Illyria, and at
'last the Gallo-Greeks, will pour like inundations
'upon Macedonia first and then upon Greece. Do
'not, pray, by avoiding near and small evils, ex-
'pose yourselves to infinitely greater ones!' Here Phæneas prætor of Ætolia interrupted him, declaring, 'if they let Philip slip through their fingers at 'this time, he would soon rekindle a more grievous 'war.' But the Roman reply'd; 'Leave your wrang-
'lings amidst our deliberations. The peace shall
'be made on such firm conditions, as shall put it out
'of his power to renew the war.' So the council broke up.

CHAP. XIII.

NEXT day the king came to the congress at the place appointed, the entry to the valley of Tempe. On the third day he was admitted to a counsel of the Roman officers and allies. Here without touching on those particulars, without which he could not obtain peace, and which would be more easily obtained by leaving them to the discretion of the other party than by wrangling, he very prudently declared, 'he
'accepted all that the Romans had granted, or
'the allies demanded, in the former conference, and
'would refer all other matters to the arbitration of
'the Roman senate.' Notwithstanding this concession would have stop'd the mouths of the greatest enemies, yet Phæneas, while all the other Ætolians were silent, asked this question. 'Will you, Philip,
'restore us Pharsalus, Larissa, Echinum and Thebes
'in Phthiotis?' When Philip answered, 'I shall
'not hesitate to restore them,' there arose a warm dispute between the Roman general, and the Ætolians about Thebes. Quinctius affirmed it belonged to the Romans by right of conquest. For before the rupture, he marched against it and invited it to

embrace

embrace his alliance. But though they had it in their power freely to revolt from Philip, they prefer'd an alliance with that prince to the amity of the Romans. Phæneas said, it was but reasonable it should be restored to the Ætolians, both on account of the alliance that had subsisted between them during the war and before it, and also in consequence of an article of the treaty, whereby it was stipulated that the Romans should have all the booty, and moveables, and the Ætolians the territories and cities. Quinctius reply'd, 'You yourselves first broke 'the articles of that treaty, when you made peace 'with Philip without consulting us. But supposing that treaty still subsisted, it only extends to 'conquered cities. Those of Thessaly surrendered 'to us voluntarily.' All the allies unanimously approved what the pro-consul said, which was not only grievous to the Ætolians at that time, but laid the foundation of a war that soon broke out, and involved them in the greatest calamities. He demanded Philip's son Demetrius, and several lords of his court as hostages and 200 talents, giving him permission to send deputies to Rome to negotiate a peace. For this end he granted him a truce for four months. He also engaged to restore the money and hostages, if the peace did not take place. It is very certain the Roman general had no other motive for hastening this peace, but because Antiochus was preparing to invade Europe. CHAP. XIII.

AT the same time, and, according to some historians on the same day, the Achæans routed Androsthenes one of the king's generals in a pitched battle at Corinth. Philip had a mind to have that city as a bulwark against the states of Greece, and retain'd as hostages the principal men of it, whom he had invited out to a conference, under pretence of treating with them about the number of horse they would furnish for the war. Besides 500 Macedonians, and 800 auxiliaries of different nations he had there be- CHAP. XIV.

CHAP. XIV.

fore, he ſent into it 1000 Macedonians, and 1200 Illyrians, Thracians and Cretans. There were Cretans both in the ſervice of Philip and of the Romans. To theſe were added 1000 ſhield men, Bœotians, Theſſalians and Acarnanians, and as many of the Corinthian youth as made a complete body of 6000 men. This ſtrength inſpired Androſthenes with confidence to take the field. Niceratus prætor of the Achæans was then at Sicyon, with 2000 foot and 100 horſe. But perceiving he was inferior both with regard to the number and quality of his troops, he did not venture without the walls of the place. The king's troops over-ran the fields of Pellene[a], Phlius[b] and Cleonæ[c], ravaging them in a terrible manner. At length upbraiding the enemy with cowardice, they went over to the territories of Sicyon. They likewiſe ſailed round all the coaſts of Achaia and laid them waſte. As they diſperſed up and down, and their too great confidence made them leſs cautious, Nicæratus entertain'd hopes of ſurprizing them. In conſequence he ſent a private meſſenger round all the neighboring cities, to appoint a day when, and the exact number of men each ſhould ſend to Apelaurum[d] a little town in the territory of Stymphalia.[e] Every thing being ready on the fixed day, he marched immediately croſs the fields of Phlius, and arrived in the night at Cleonæ, without any one's being able to penetrate his deſigns. He had with him 5000 foot. He detached all the light arm'd of theſe, and 300 horſe to find out where the enemy were diſperſed, and to watch their motions.

CHAP. XV.

ANDROSTHENES, ignorant of all this, had quitted Corinth, and encamp'd at Nemæa, a river that runs between the territories of Corinth and Sicyon. From thence he detached half of his troops in three diviſions, and ordered all the horſe to make incurſions, at the ſame time upon the fields of Pel-

[a] Now *Diacopton* in *Achaia propria*.
[b] Now *Pheica*.
[c] Now *Sanvaſilii*.
[d] Unknown.
[e] In *Arcadia*. Now called *Vulſi*.

lene,

lene, Sicyon and Phlius. Accordingly these three bodies set out by different routs. As soon as Nicæratus got notice of this at Cleonæ, he sent a strong detachment of mercenaries to take possession of a forest, by which the enemy must pass in their return to Corinth. He himself marched in two columns with the horse in front. On one wing were the mercenaries and light troops, and on the other the corps that carry'd bucklers, and in the centre the troops of the several states. He was near the enemy's camp, when he sent a party of Thracians to attack those, who were dispersed ravaging the country. The alarm quickly reached the camp. The general himself quaked for fear; as he had seen the enemy but seldom, and that above the hills of Sicyon, and afraid to venture down into the plains. Nay he never imagined they would have come from Cleonæ. He ordered to give the signal, by sound of trumpet, for assembling the soldiers scattered about in the fields. Then commanding those he had in the camp to take their arms in a hurry, he quitted his lines with an inconsiderable body, and drew it up in order of battle along the river. The rest could scarce be assembled or form'd, so they were not able to stand the enemy's charge. The Macedonians were the most numerous corps, and sustained the battle long. But being left so exposed by the flight of the other troops, that the enemy's light corps attacked them in flank, while the clypeati and cetrati pressed them vigorously in front, they at last gave ground. Then they fled with precipitation, and the greatest number of them throwing down their arms, and despairing of being able to reach their camp, went streight to Corinth. Nicæratus detached the mercenaries in pursuit of them, and the light troops after those that were ravaging the country of Sicyon. Both detachments made great slaughter of the enemy, nay greater than was made in the battle. Part also of those who had been ravaging Pellene and Phlius, returning to their camp in disorder, and ignorant of all that had

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had happened, came in amongſt the enemy's guards as if they had been their own; and others by ſeeing their own men running up and down ſuſpected what had happened, and fled; but diſperſed ſo in their flight, that the very peaſants cut them off. 1500 of the enemy were killed, and 300 taken priſoners that day. Thus was all Achaia delivered from their oppreſſions.

CHAP. XVI.

BEFORE the battle of Cynocephalæ, L. Quinctius had ſent for to Corcyra the principal men of Acarnania, the only people that continued faithful to Philip, and laid a foundation for commotions among them. They had remained ſteady in their alliance on two accounts: in the firſt place becauſe they were naturally honeſt and faithful; and next becauſe they both feared and hated the Ætolians. He appointed a diet of them to meet at Leucas. But they did not all appear, and thoſe who did differed in opinion. However the magiſtrates and principal men prevailed to have a decree paſſed privately for entering into an alliance with the Romans. This ſtep highly offended all thoſe that were abſent, and two of their chief men, Androcles and Echedemus, ſent from Philip, taking advantage of this rage of the people, prevailed not only to have the decree for joining the Romans cancel'd, but to have Archelaüs and Bianor, the two noblemen who adviſed and promoted it, condemned for treaſon by the aſſembly, and to have Zeuxis their prætor, who had moved it to them, deprived of his office. This ſudden danger that threatened the condemned perſons, they turned to their advantage. Their friends adviſed them to yield to the times and fly to the Romans at Corcyra: but they reſolved to throw themſelves upon the multitude, in order either to ſoften them by that action, or to ſuffer patiently whatever fate they ſhould meet. The aſſembly was numerous, and at their appearance expreſſed their admiration by murmurs and clamors. But ſhame, when they reflected on their former dignity, and compaſſion for their preſent circumſtances ſoon produced a gene-

ral

ral ſilence. Thus the condemn'd perſons, having got leave to ſpeak, began with ſupplications; but in the courſe of their ſpeech, when they came to exculpate themſelves, they expreſſed themſelves with a noble air of confidence peculiar to innocence: at laſt they even complain'd and reproached the aſſembly with the unjuſt and cruel attempts againſt them, which made ſo great an impreſſion upon them, that they unanimouſly repeal'd all the decrees made againſt them. However they reſolved to return to their alliance with Philip, and refuſe that of the Romans. CHAP. XVI.

THESE decrees paſſed at Leucas, the capital of Acarnania, in a full diet of all the Acarnanians. Flamininus's lieutenant, who was at Corcyra, no ſooner received advice of this ſudden change, than he immediately ſet ſail with his fleet for Leucas, and arrived at a place called Heræa near it. Then he approached it with all kinds of engines and machines uſed in ſieges, imagining that the firſt alarm would bring them over to him. But ſeeing no ſigns of yielding, he began to erect his galleries and towers, and plant his battering rams againſt the walls. All Acarnania is ſituated towards the weſt and the Sicilian ſea, between Ætolia and Epirus. Leucas was then a peninſula joined to Acarnania on the weſt by a narrow neck of land, but is now an iſland divided from it by a ſtraight full of ſhelves, which was cut by art. The neck of land that carried to it was about 500 paces long and 120 broad. On it was ſituated Leucas adjoining to a hill that faced towards the eaſt and Acarnania. Below the town was a plain extended towards the ſea, which divides it from Acarnania. By reaſon of this ſituation it could be inveſted both by ſea and land: for the fords are liker lakes than a ſea; and all the fields are fit to be manured, and works may be eaſily thrown up in them. In conſequence the walls, being either undermined or battered with rams, tumbled down in many places. But though the town was hereby exCHAP. XVII.

CHAP. XVII. posed to the attacks of the besiegers, yet the courage of the defendants was invincible. They night and day repair'd the parts of the walls that were shattered, and rebuilt those that had tumbled down: They fought with the greatest activity, and rather defended the walls by their arms, than protected themselves by their walls. The siege had continued long beyond the Romans expectation, had not some Italian exiles then living at Leucas let the soldiers into the citadel. And even then the inhabitants, marshalled in order of battle in the forum, sustained for some time on equal terms the attack of those, who rushed down with great impetuosity upon them from the citadel. But in the mean time the walls were scaled in many places, and the Romans entered the breaches over heaps of stones and rubbish. So that by this time the Roman general in person had surrounded the besieged with a vast body of men. Some fell invironed between the two bodies of the enemy, and the rest, throwing down their arms surrendered at discretion to the conqueror. In a few days after, when the news of the victory at Cynocephalæ arrived, deputies came to surrender all the cities of Acarnania.

CHAP. XVIII. THE king's misfortunes came all together. For at the same time the Rhodians sent their prætor Pausistratus, with 800 Achæan foot, and about 1900 auxiliaries raised out of different nations, Gauls, Visuetes[a], Pisuetes[b], Tamians[c], Areans[d], Africans, and Laodiceans[e] of Asia, to recover from Philip the country of Peræa on the continent, which had been the property of their ancestors. With these forces Pausistratus seized the strong castle of Tendebas[f], in the country of Stratonice, without being perceived by the king's troops which garisoned it. Here he seasonably received a reinforcement of 1000 Achæan foot and 100 horse, commanded by Theoxenus. Dinocrates, the king's general, with a view

[a] Now *Nubia*, not far from *Clupea*.
[b] *Pithue*, a city of *Caria*.
[c] Unknown.
[d] Of *Persia*.
[e] *Laudichia*, a city of *Lydia*, in *Asia* proper.
[f] A strong castle of *Caria*.

to

to recover Tendeba, marched first to it, and then to another castle called Astragon [g] in the same district. Having assembled all the garisons dispersed in the neighborhood, he set out with the Thessalian auxiliaries towards Alabanda [h] where the enemy was. The Rhodians did not decline fighting, but quitted their camp, and approached the royalists in order of battle. Dinocrates posted 500 Macedonians in his right wing, the Agrians [i] in his left, and the troops he had assembled out of the garisons, who were mostly Carians, in the centre. He covered his wings with his horse: On the side of the Rhodians, the Cretan auxiliaries and a Thracian cohort were posted to the right, a choice body of mercenaries to the left, and the auxiliaries of different nations in the centre, distributing the cavalry and light armed troops in the wings. Both sides stood all that day unactive on the banks of a rivulet, which run between them, and after throwing a few darts retired to their lines. Next day they marched out in the same order, and fought a more bloody battle than could have been expected from their numbers, for they did not amount to more than 3000 foot, and about 100 horse. They were not only equal in respect to numbers and the quality of their arms, but fought with equal courage and hope. The Achæans first passed the rivulet and attacked the Agrians, and then the whole army passed almost at a run. Victory was long dubious. The Achæans, in number 1000, broke a body of 400 enemies, upon which their whole right gave way. They could make no impression on the Macedonians, while they kept their ranks, and stood close like the phalanx. But when that corps, upon it's flanks being exposed, endeavored to face about with their pikes to the enemy who flanked them; they were immediately broken and hindered each other, so that they gave way: at last they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation to Bargyliæ. Dinocrates fled

[g] In *Caria*. [h] Now *Eblebanda*. [i] In *Thrace*, between the river *Hebrus* and mount *Hæmus*.

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to the ſame place. The Rhodians ſpent the reſt of the day in purſuing the fugitives, and then retired to their camp. It is certain if they had marched directly to Stratonice, they might have made themſelves maſters of it without ſtriking a ſtroke. But they loſt that noble opportunity, by waſting the time in reducing the caſtles and towns of Peræa. In the mean time the gariſon of Stratonice recovered their courage, and ſoon after Dinocrates entered it with the troops that ſurvived the battle. Then they beſieged it in vain, nor could they with all their efforts have recovered it, if they had not been afterwards aſſiſted by king Antiochus. Theſe were the tranſactions in Theſſaly, in Achaia and Aſia, during this campaign.

CHAP. XIX.

PHILIP received advice that the Dardani, in contempt for his having yielded up his dominions, had entered his territories and ravaged the upper part of Macedonia. Though he ſaw fortune wreaking her fury on him and his in every place, yet eſteeming it worſe than death, to be driven out of Macedonia, he with all expedition levy'd troops through all the cities of his dominions, and ſetting out with 6000 foot and 500 horſe, ſurprized the enemy at Stobi [a] a city of Pæonia. He killed many of the enemy in the battle, but a ſtill greater number that were diſperſed pillaging the lands. But ſuch of them as could fly faſteſt, did not fight at all, but returned to their own country. Thus was Philip ſucceſsful in one expedition, contrary to the preſent run of his fortune. However it raiſed the courage of his troops, and he returned to Theſſalonica. The Macedonian war was as ſeaſonably ended, by the defeat of Philip, ſince Antiochus was meditating a rupture, as the ſecond Carthaginian war had been to prevent the Romans from having Philip and the Carthaginians to deal with at the ſame time. For beſides that it was eaſier to manage them ſingly, than if they had been united at the ſame juncture, it

[a] Now *Staraquino*.

happened

happened alſo that a grievous inſurrection broke out in Spain. Though Antiochus, after having, during the preceding campaign, reduced all the cities belonging to Ptolemy in Cœlo-Syria [a], had retired for the winter to Antioch [b], yet he had no thoughts of peace. For reſolving to make an effort with his whole ſtrength, he aſſembled a great army of land and ſea forces, and ſent his two ſons, Ardues and Mithridates, with his land forces to Sardis with orders to wait for him there. He himſelf went by ſea with a fleet of 100 large ſhips of war, and 200 tranſports [c]. His deſign was to attempt the reduction of all the cities along the coaſt of Cilicia and Caria, that were ſubject to Ptolemy, and at the ſame time to aſſiſt Philip with an army and fleet, as the Macedonian war was not yet concluded. CHAP. XIX.

THE Rhodians, in fidelity to the Romans, and for the common benefit of all Greece, performed many gallant exploits both by ſea and land. But they never gave a greater inſtance of their magnanimity, than in not being terrified with the dreadful war that threatened them at this time. On the contrary they ſent an ambaſſador to the king at Nephelis, a promontory of Cilicia famous for the ancient league of the Athenians [a], requiring him to keep his forces within the bounds where he was, otherwiſe they would oppoſe his progreſs; not out of hatred, but to prevent him from joining Philip, and interrupting the career of the Romans in reſtoring liberty to Greece. He was at that time beſieging Coraceſium [b]. He had already croſſed the promontory of Anemurus *, and became maſter of Zephyrium [c], Soles [d], Aphrodiſias [e], Coryca [f], Selinus [g], CHAP. XX.

[a] Lying between proper *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*. *Damaſcus* was it's capital. It is now call'd *Boca*, or *Bocalbalbec*.

[b] Nothing but ruins now remain of this capital of *Syria*.

[c] Among the latter the *Cercurii*, a row boat of great burden, peculiar to the *Aſiatics*.

[a] Between *Artaxerxes* I. and *Cimon*, who vanquiſhed him both by ſea and land in the ſame day.

[b] A maritime city on the confines of *Pamphylia*.

* *Stalemura*.

[c] Now *Tarſu* in *Turcomania*.

[d] Between the rivers *Latmus* and *Cydnus*.

[e] St. *Theodore*, between *Celenderis* and *Seleucia*.

[f] *Curco*, between the rivers *Calycadnus* and *Latmus*.

[g] *Iſlone*.

CHAP. XX.

and all the other forts on that coaſt, either by force or ſurrendry. But, contrary to his expectation Coraceſium ſtopt his career by ſhutting her gates againſt him. Here he gave audience to the Rhodian ambaſſadors. Though their inſtructions were of ſuch a nature as to inſpire him with rage, yet he reſtrained his reſentment, and anſwered that he would ſend ambaſſadors to Rhodes. 'To them he would 'give full powers to renew the former treaties be'tween their and his anceſtors, and aſſure them 'that they had nothing to fear from his com'ing. For he ſhould neither injure them nor their 'allies. In particular he would not violate his al'liance with the Romans. In proof of this, they 'might reflect on the ambaſſy he had lately ſent 'them, and the decrees and anſwers of their ſenate 'in honor of him.' It happened that at that time his ambaſſador arrived from Rome, having had a gracious audience of reception and leave, in compliance with the times, as the Romans were yet ignorant, what would be the iſſue of the Macedonian war. As the king's ambaſſadors were giving this account in preſence of the Rhodian deputies, a courier brought the news of the deciſive victory of Cynocephalæ. As this news delivered the Rhodians from all apprehenſions from Philip, they reſolved to oppoſe Antiochus by ſea. Neither did they neglect the defence of the allied cities belonging to Ptolemy, which Antiochus threatened with a war. They ſent aids to ſome of them, and gave others notice of the enemies deſigns againſt them. By theſe means they preſerved the liberty of the Caunians[a], Mindians[b], Halicarnaſſeans[c] and Samians[d]. It would be idle in me to attempt giving a minute account of what paſſed at all theſe places, when I am ſcarce able to relate what properly belongs to the Romans.

[a] La *Roſſa* in *Caria*.
[b] Between *Bargyllæ*, and *Halliçarnaſſus*.
[c] *Caſtel di San Pierre*.
[d] *Samo* an iſland in the *Ægean* ſea.

ABOUT

ABOUT the ſame time Attalus, who had been carry'd ſick from Thebes to Pergamus, died in the 71ſt year of his age, and 44th of his reign. He was indebted to fortune for nothing that raiſed him to ſovereign dominion except riches. By making a prudent and generous application of them, he himſelf firſt, and then others began to think him deſerving of a crown. Having conquered in one battle the Gauls who had come lately into Aſia, and on that account were much dreaded, he aſſumed the title of king, and ever after bore a mind ſuitable to that princely dignity. He governed his ſubjects with the greateſt juſtice, and was extremely faithful to his allies. He left behind him, a widow and four children. He was kind and bountiful to his courtiers. He left his crown eſtabliſhed on ſo firm a foundation, that the third generation of his poſterity enjoy'd it. During this ſtate of affairs in Aſia, Greece and Macedon, and before the war with Philip was entirely terminated, and a firm peace concluded, a grievous inſurrection broke out in Farther Spain. M. Helvius governed that province. He wrote to the ſenate, 'that two petty kings, Colchas and Luſcinus were 'up in arms. With Colchas had joined ſeventeen 'cities, and with Luſcinus the ſtrong ones of Car-'do[a] and Bardo[b]; and that all the people on the 'coaſt, who had not diſcovered their reſolution, 'would riſe upon the motion of the neighboring 'cities.' After M. Sergius the city prætor had read theſe letters, the ſenate decreed, that when the prætors ſhould be choſen, he to whoſe lot Spain ſhould fall, ſhould as ſoon as poſſible lay a plan for the war in his province before the ſenate. CHAP. XXI.

ABOUT the ſame time the conſuls arrived at Rome, and had their audience in the temple of Bellona. When they demanded a triumph on account of their exploits, C. Atinius Labeo, and C. Urſanius tribunes of the people inſiſted that the conſuls ſhould give their reaſons for their demand CHAP. XXII.

[a] Now *Cardona*, in *Catalonia*. [b] *Berga* to the eaſtward of the former.

CHAP. XXII.

separately: for they would not suffer them to do it jointly, that equal honor might not be conferred on the deserving and undeserving. Minucius urged, that they had both had the same province, Italy; Cornelius added, that they had prosecuted the war with united hearts and counsels; that when the Boii passed the Po to attack him, and assist the Insubrians and Cenomanians, his collegue, by burning their villages and lands, had obliged them to return to defend their own country. The tribunes confessed, 'that Cornelius had performed such glorious services, that he was as much entitled to a triumph as 'the immortal Gods were to praise. Yet neither 'he nor any other citizen had so much credit and 'influence, as, when he obtained a triumph for himself, to obtain the same honor to his collegue, who 'impudently sued for it when he did not deserve it. 'What Minucius had performed in Liguria scarce 'deserved the name of slight skirmishes: besides he 'had lost a great number of soldiers in Gaul. They 'also named two legionary tribunes, T. Juvencius, 'and Cneius, brother of Labeo, who together with 'many other brave Romans and allies had been slain 'in an unfortunate battle. And only a few towns 'and villages had been surrendered to him, and these 'not entirely and faithfully, but only to save appearances, since they had neither given hostages, 'nor any other security been taken for their fidelity.' These wranglings continued for two days, but by the obstinate perseverance of the tribunes, each of the consuls was obliged to give in his own reasons for himself.

CHAP. XXIII.

A TRIUMPH was unanimously decreed to Cn. Cornelius: the Placentians and Cremonenses did his cause great service, by returning thanks and reporting in his behalf, that he had delivered them from a siege; and recovered great numbers of them from slavery. Q. Minucius, before he had well begun to give the reasons of his petition, perceived, that the senate unanimously opposed him: so he declared, that by virtue of his consular authority,

thority, and after the example of many illu- CHAP. XXIII.
ſtrious perſonages, he would triumph on mount Alba. Cn. Cornelius triumphed during his magiſtracy for the Inſubrians and Cenomanians. Many ſtandards were carry'd before him, and much ſpoil of the Gauls driven in their own waggons. Many noble Gallic priſoners, among whom ſome authors ſay, was Hamilcar the Carthaginian general, were led before his chariot. But the fineſt ſight was a company of Placentians and Cremonenſes, who followed with caps, the badges of liberty, on their heads. He carry'd alſo 237500 aſſes of braſs, and 79000 ſilver denarii ſtampt with a chariot drawn by two horſes. He gave each foot ſoldier 70 aſſes of braſs, 140 to each trooper, and 210 to each centurion. Q. Minucius triumphed for the Ligurians, Boians and Gauls on mount Alba. This triumph was not ſo honorable as the former, in reſpect of the place, or reputation of the general, and beſides every body knew, that the public treaſury did not defray the expence of it. But it was equal in regard to the number of ſtandards, waggons and ſpoils. He carry'd likewiſe about the ſame ſum of money, 254000 aſſes of braſs, and 53200 ſilver denarii. He alſo gave each of his foot ſoldiers, and centurions the ſame ſum his collegue had given his.

WHEN the triumphs were ended, the conſu- CHAP. XXIV.
lar comitia were held. The faſces were transfer'd to L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Marcellus. Next day the prætors were choſen, Q. Fabius Buteo, Ti. Semp. Longus, Q. Minucius Thermus, M. Acilius Glabrio, L. Apuſtius Fullus, and C. Lælius. In the end of the year letters arrived from T. Quinctius, informing the ſenate that he had gained a complete victory over Philip in Theſſaly. Sergius the prætor firſt read theſe letters in the ſenate, and then by order of the fathers in the aſſembly of the people. For this ſucceſs a ſupplication was decreed for five days. Soon after ambaſſadors arrived both from Quinctius and the king. The Macedonians were carry'd

CHAP. XXIV.

carry'd to the villa publica [a]. Here they were lodged and plentifully furnished with every thing. The senate met in the temple of Bellona. The Macedonians speech was very short, 'that the king their 'master would submit to whatever the senate should 'think proper.' Agreeable to the custom of their ancestors, the fathers decreed, that ten commissioners should be sent thither, by whose council and advice, Quinctius should grant terms of peace to Philip. That P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, who had had the province of Macedonia during their consulate, should be of the number of this council. Upon a petition from the Cosans for augmenting the number of their planters, 1000 more were ordered to be sent thither, provided none of the number to be sent had been in arms against the state since the consulate of M. Cornelius and Ti. Sempronius. The curule ædiles, P. Corn. Scipio, and Cn. Manlius Vulso, celebrated the Roman games, and exhibited plays this year in the circus with more magnificence than ever: The late success of the public arms, induced the people to express greater pleasure in them. They were celebrated three times over; and the plebeian games seven times, by Acilius Glabrio and C. Lælius. With the money arising from fines, they erected three brazen statues, of Ceres, Bacchus, and Venus.

CHAP. XXV.

L. Furius, M. Claud. Marcellus, consuls. Y. of R. 5-6. B. J. C. 196.

L. FURIUS and M. Claudius Marcellus entered upon their office. When a motion was made about the provinces, the senate decreed Italy to them both. But they petitioned for Macedonia and Italy together. Marcellus, who was most desirous of having that province, represented, 'that the peace with 'Philip was a fallacious one, and he would rebel, as 'soon as the army should be withdrawn.' This staggered the fathers, and the consuls had probably prevailed, had not two tribunes of the people, Q. Marcius and C. Atinius Labeo, interposed, declaring they would move the people to make peace or not with

[a] It stood in the field of *Mars*.

Philip

Philip as they pleaſed. The motion was made to them aſſembled in the capitol, and all the thirty five tribes unanimouſly agreed to it. To balance their joy that peace was concluded with Philip, diſagreeable news arrived from Spain. The letters were publiſhed, 'that C. Sempronius Tuditanus the pro-'conſul had been defeated in Hither Spain. His 'army had been routed and put to flight, and many 'illuſtrious men killed. Tuditanus himſelf, having 'been carry'd out of the battle grievouſly wounded, 'had died ſoon after.' Both the conſuls had Italy for their province, with the legions which their predeceſſors in office had commanded, and orders to raiſe four more new legions; two to be ſent wherever the ſenate ſhould think fit. T. Quinctius Flamininus was ordered to ſtay in the ſame province with the two legions under his command, for his government had been continued to him by a decree of the preceding year. CHAP. XXV.

THEN the prætors drew lots for their provinces. L. Apuſtius Fullo had the juriſdiction of the city; Glabrio that of foreigners; Buteo, Farther Spain; Thermus, Hither; Lælius, Sicily; and Longus, Sardinia. A Decree paſſed that the conſuls ſhould give what two legions they pleaſed out of the four they were to raiſe, to Buteo and Thermus, who were to go to Spain, a legion to each: they had likewiſe 4000 foot and 300 horſe of the allies aſſigned them, and were ordered to go into their provinces with all expedition. The preſent war broke out in the fifth year after that province had been ſubdued by terminating the Carthaginian war. Before the prætors ſet out for this war, (which was in a manner a new one, as it was the firſt time the natives had taken up arms of themſelves without a Carthaginian army and general) or the conſuls quitted the city, they were ordered, as uſual, to expiate the prodigies that had been reported. L. Julius and his horſe were killed by lightning, on a journey to Sabinia: The temple of Feronia in the territory of Capena was ſtruck with lightning; CHAP. XXVI.

lightning: in that of Moneta the heads of two ſpears blazed with flame: a wolf having entered at the Eſquiline gate, the moſt frequented part of the city, ran into the forum, along the Tuſcan ſtreet and the Æquimelium, and eſcaped out at the gate Capena without being touched. Theſe prodigies were expiated by the larger ſacrifices.

CHAP. XXVII.

ABOUT the ſame time Lentulus, who had commanded in Hither Spain before Tuditanus, entered the city in an ovation by a decree of the ſenate. There were carry'd before him 1515 pound weight of gold, 20000 pound of bullion, and of coin'd denarii 34550. L. Stertinus from the other Spain, without pretending to a triumph, brought into the treaſury 50000 pound weight of ſilver. Beſides out of the ſpoils he built two arched galleries, one in the ox market before the temples of Fortune and Matuta, the other in the Circus Maximus. Theſe he adorned with gilded ſtatues. Theſe were the tranſactions during the winter. Quinctius was then in winter quarters at Athens. Among many others of the allies, who petitioned for the ſame, the Bœotians prevailed to have all their countrymen who had ſerved under Philip reſtored to them; Quinctius granted their requeſt, not ſo much becauſe he believed they deſerved it, as from a deſire to conciliate the affections of the Greek ſtates to the Romans, becauſe he ſuſpected Antiochus. After their priſoners were reſtored it ſoon appeared how little regard they had for the Romans; for they ſent to thank Philip for the favor, as if their countrymen had been reſtored by him and not the Romans and Quinctius: nay at their next election of a chief magiſtrate they preferred Brachyllas, becauſe he had commanded their troops under the king, to Zeuxippus and Piſiſtratus and ſeveral others by whoſe means they had been induced to make an alliance with the Romans. Theſe Bœotian lords even then reſented the affront, and began to apprehend their future ruin certain; for, ſaid they, if we are thus treated when the Romans are encamped before our gates,

what

what uſage may we expect when they are gone back to Italy? and while Philip was ſo near to help his allies and diſtreſs thoſe who were not in his intereſt?

IN conſequence they reſolved, while the Romans were near, to deſtroy Brachyllas, the head and ſupport of the king's faction. They took the opportunity to effect their deſign, when he was returning drunk from an entertainment, attended only by effeminate men of pleaſure, who had been at the feaſt to make diverſion: ſix armed ruffians, three Italians and three Ætolians, fell upon him and aſſaſſinated him. His attendants fled, and raiſed the hue and cry, upon which the whole city was alarmed and run up and down with torches in their hands. However the aſſaſſins eſcaped out at the next gate. By day break, upon the ſummons of an herald, there was a full aſſembly of the people met in the theatre, as if the murderers had been diſcovered. There it was openly ſaid, he had been aſſaſſinated by his attendants, the lewd fellows of pleaſure; but they were convinced in their minds that Zeuxippus was the guilty perſon. However they then ordered thoſe of his retinue to be apprehended and examined. During their examination, Zeuxippus, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of guilt from himſelf, went into the aſſembly and told them they were much miſtaken who imagined, that thoſe half-men had committed ſo daring a villainy. By urging many probable reaſons to ſupport this, he verily perſuaded ſeveral perſons, that if he had been guilty, he would never have put himſelf in the power of the multitude, or mentioned the murder when nobody provoked him to it. Others again did not doubt, but he took this audacious ſtep to remove all ſuſpicion of guilt from himſelf. But Brachyllas's innocent attendants being afterwards put to the torture, and knowing the general opinion, made a diſcovery agreeable to it, and accuſed Zeuxippus and Piſiſtratus, without ſhewing the leaſt reaſon to make it appear that they had the leaſt knowledge of it. However

CHAP. XXVIII.

Zeuxippus,

CHAP. XXVIII.

Zeuxippus, accompany'd by one Stratodinas, fled by night to Tanagra [a], more terrify'd by the ſtings of his own conſcience, than the information of wretches quite ſtrangers to the ſecret. Piſiſtratus ſtaid at Thebes, and deſpiſed their accuſation. Zeuxippus had a ſlave, who had been a goer between and manager in the whole affair: Piſiſtratus was fearful of him, and by that very means forced him to make a diſcovery. He wrote to Zeuxippus to kill this ſlave who was privy to their guilt; for he thought he was not ſo fit a perſon to keep a ſecret, as to be employ'd in an act of villainy. The meſſenger who carry'd this letter was ordered to deliver it to Zeuxippus as ſoon as poſſible: But not having an opportunity of acceſs to him, he gave it to this very ſlave, whom he looked on as the moſt truſty ſervant his maſter had; telling him at the ſame time that it was from Piſiſtratus, and about a matter of the utmoſt conſequence, to Zeuxippus. The ſlave promiſed to deliver it that inſtant, but prompted by ſome ſecret foreboding, opened it. When he had read it he fled in great conſternation to Thebes. His flight induced Zeuxippus to fly to Athens, as a ſafer refuge. Piſiſtratus was examined on the rack and then executed.

CHAP. XXIX.

THIS quite enraged and exaſperated the Thebans and Bœotians againſt the Romans, becauſe they had engaged Zeuxippus, a chief man of their nation, to commit ſo horrid an action. But they had neither ſtrength ſufficient nor a leader to head them in caſe they ſhould take up arms. So that they had recourſe to what was next to open war, robbing: they cut off ſeveral Romans who were in their town, and many victuallers and ſutlers who were travelling from one winter quarter to another. Some were killed on their journies in noted lurking places by perſons that lay there concealed for the purpoſe: others, by being treacherouſly decoy'd by by-roads into unfrequented places. Their motive for committing theſe murders was at

[a] Near the river *Aſopus*.

length

length changed from hatred to avidity of prey, because these travellers carry'd money in their girdles to merchandize with. At first only a few of the Romans were missing, but the number increasing, Bœotia began to have an ill name, and the soldiers were as cautious in straggling from their lines as if they had been in an enemy's country. Then Quinctius sent deputies round all the states to complain of these murders and robberies. Many foot soldiers were found dead at the lake of Copais [a], and were drag'd out of the mud and lake, with great stones and heavy vessels ty'd to them in order to sink them in the water. Many murders were likewise discovered about Acræphia [b] and Coronea [c]. Quinctius, in the first place ordered the murderers to be delivered up to him, and the Bœotians to pay him 500 talents as a reparation for 500 men he had lost. But they obey'd neither, and only made apologies for their states, saying none of the murders or robberies had been done with their consent. Upon this the pro-consul sent deputies to Athens and Achaia, to lay before the allies the just grounds he had to make war on the Bœotians. Then he sent P. Claudius against Acræphia with part of the army, and sat himself down with another part before Coronea. The two divisions laid waste all the lands on their rout from Elatia. The Bœotians struck with these calamities, and seeing their country filled with flight and consternation, sent a deputation to the pro-consul. But as he refused them admittance into his camp, deputies from Athens and Achaia came to plead in their behalf. The Achæans made an easier impression on him, as they resolved to enter into the war, if they could not obtain a peace for the Bœotians. They obtained permission for the Bœotians to come into the Roman's presence, who having ordered them to deliver up the murderers and pay 30 talents, granted them peace and raised the siege.

CHAP. XXIX.

[a] The lake of *Cephisus*, and took it's name from a neighboring city *Copæ*, signifying an oar, first invented here.

[b] Between the springs of *Asopus* and *Isemenus*.

[c] Now only a village call'd *Corone*.

CHAP. XXX.

A FEW days after arrived from Rome the ten commiſſioners, by whoſe advice peace was granted to Philip on the following terms. 'All the cities in 'Greece, both in Europe and Aſia, ſhall enjoy their 'liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Phi- 'lip ſhall evacuate all the Greek cities of which he 'is now poſſeſſed: as alſo Euromus, Padaſia [a], Bar- 'gyliæ, Jaſſos, Myrina [b], Abydos, Thaſſos and Pe- 'rinthia: for all thoſe cities ſhould likewiſe enjoy 'their liberty. As to the liberty of Cius, the pro- 'conſul ſhall notify the intentions of the ſenate and 'ten commiſſioners to Pruſias king of Bithynia. Phi- 'lip ſhall reſtore to the Romans all their priſoners and 'deſerters: and deliver up all his ſhips that have decks 'and one royal galley of an unwieldy ſize, which had 'ſixteen benches of oars. He ſhall never have above '500 men in pay, and never make uſe of elephants. He 'ſhall never make war out of Macedon without con- 'ſent of the Romans. He ſhall pay to the republic '1000 talents; one half immediately, and the other 'half in ten years at ten equal payments.' Valerius Antias ſays, he was to pay a tribute of 4000 pound weight of ſilver annually for ten years, and 34220 immediately. The ſame author adds that it was expreſsly ſtipulated, that he ſhould not make war on Attalus's ſon, Eumenes, who had lately aſcended his father's throne. For the performance of all theſe Philip gave hoſtages, among whom was his ſon Demetrius. Valerius Antias adds, that though Attalus was not preſent he had the iſland Ægina, and the king's elephants, given him in a preſent; the Rhodians had Stratonice in Caria, and ſeveral other cities then in Philip's poſſeſſion; and the Athenians had the iſlands of Paros, Imbros, Delos and Scyros.

CHAP. XXXI.

ALL the ſtates of Greece approved of theſe articles, except the Ætolians, who in whiſpers declared their diſcontent at the deciſions of the council of ten. 'Theſe are but bare words, ſaid they, bear- 'ing empty ſhew of liberty. For why are ſome 'cities delivered up to the Romans? Why are the

[a] In *Coria*. [b] Near the gulph of *Smyrna* in *Aſia Minor*.

CHAP. XXXI.

'names of ſome omitted, and others that are mentioned, ordered to enjoy their liberty without being delivered up? Only, that the cities in Aſia, 'whoſe remoteneſs protects them, ſhould be free: 'but that thoſe Greek cities that are in Europe, that 'are not named, Corinth, Chalcis, Oreos, Eretria and 'Demetrias, ſhould be enſlaved.' To ſpeak truth, this accuſation of theirs was not ill founded. For there was ſome doubt concerning Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias; becauſe in the ſenate's inſtructions to their ten commiſſioners all the other cities of Greece and Aſia were ſet free by name; while with regard to theſe three, the commiſſioners had a diſcretionary power to act as they ſhould ſee moſt for the intereſt of the republic. They were certain, that Antiochus would invade Europe, as ſoon as the ſituation of his affairs would permit him: and they were unwilling to leave open theſe cities which lay ſo commodious for his deſigns. In conſequence Quinctius with the ten commiſſioners ſailed from Elatia to Anticyra, and from thence to Corinth. Here their deliberations were ſpun out to ſome length. Quinctius again and again repreſented, that all Greece muſt be ſet free, in order to refute the calumnies of the Ætolians, to ſhew their affection to their allies was ſincere, and to maintain the majeſty of the Roman empire; nay to convince the world that they themſelves were come with a ſincere intention to ſet Greece free, not to transfer the reins of tyranny from Philip to themſelves. None of the commiſſioners oppoſed the granting liberty to theſe cities; they only thought it ſafer to let them remain ſome time longer under the protection of a Roman gariſon, rather than that they ſhould receive Antiochus inſtead of Philip for their lord. At laſt they determined, 'that Corinth ſhould 'be reſtored to the Achæans, but the Romans ſhould 'have a gariſon in it's citadel, and keep poſſeſſion 'of Chalcis and Demetrias, till the apprehenſions of 'Antiochus's invaſion were over.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE time for celebrating the Isthmian games [a], was now come. There was always a vast concourse of people at them, both from the natural curiosity of the Greeks, who delight in seeing all kinds of feats of arms and exercises; and also from the commodiousness of the place; lying between two seas [b], for all Greece to meet there. But being at this time anxious to know what would be their own fate and that of their country, all Greece flocked thither, some privately forboding good things, and others openly affirming them in their discourses. At length the Romans took their places at the games, and a herald with a trumpet according to custom advanced into the middle of the arena, as if to pronounce the usual form of words: But when silence was made he proclamed, 'that the Roman senate and people, and T. Quinc-'tius their general, after having vanquished Philip 'and his Macedonians, declared the Corinthians, 'Phocæans, all the Locrians, the islands of Eubœa, 'the Magnesians, Thessalonians, Perrhœbii, Achæ-'ans and Phthiotes, free, independent and under 'their own laws.' All these named were possessed by Philip. This proclamation caused an unspeakable joy in the assembly. They would scarce credit what they heard, and looked on each other with astonishment, as if they had waked out of a dream. Each, diffident of their own ears with regard to what particularly concerned themselves, asked those who stood next them. The herald was called again, so strong a desire did each express not only to hear but see the messenger of their liberty: so he repeated the decree again. When their joy was once confirmed, they sent up such shouts of applause, and redoubled them so often, that it was evident that liberty was dearer to them than all the other advantages of life. Then the games were celebrated, but in the greatest hurry; no body looked at or minded them, their joy had so destroy'd the sense of all other pleasures.

[a] Vol. III. p. 448. n. c.

[b] The *Ionian* sea to the west, and the *Ægean* to the east.

WHEN

WHEN the games were over, the whole aſſembly ran all together to the Roman general. The crowd ruſhed ſo upon this ſingle man, ſome ſtriving to ſee him, others to kiſs his hands, throwing crowns and garlands upon him, that his perſon was in ſome danger. But his vigorous youth, being then about thirty-three years of age, and the pleaſure of being ſo honored and reſpected, carry'd him through. This extravagant joy did not ſubſide that day, but laſted for ſeveral days, entertained not only in grateful breaſts, but expreſſed in thankful ſpeeches. 'Would 'any other nation in the univerſe, cry'd the Greeks, 'at their own expence, with the greateſt fatigue and 'danger, carry on a war, to ſecure the liberties of 'another people; and that not of neighbors, bor-'derers, or a nation on the ſame continent? They had 'paſſed the ſea, to aboliſh tyranny in all the ſtates 'of the world, and eſtabliſh the ſovereignty of laws, 'equity and juſtice. By the voice of a ſingle herald 'all the cities of Greece and Aſia were reinſtated in 'their liberty. To conceive ſuch a deſign was a 'proof of the greateſt magnanimity; to effect it, of 'the greateſt valor and good fortune.' CHAP. XXXIII.

AFTER this Quinctius and the ten commiſſioners gave audience to the ambaſſadors of ſeveral kings, nations and ſtates. Antiochus's were firſt admitted: They made the ſame proteſtations of friendſhip that they had done at Rome, without intending to verify them by actions. The Romans, now free from the embarraſſments they were under before Philip was ſubdued, openly inſiſted that the king their maſter ſhould evacuate all the cities which had belonged either to Philip or Ptolemy, and not meddle with any in Greece which was now free. In particular they prohibited him to tranſport an army or come into Europe. When the king's embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, then the deputies of the ſeveral nations and ſtates met. This aſſembly was the ſooner diſmiſſed as they were all comprehended by name in the decree of the ten commiſſioners. The Oreſtans, becauſe CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXIV.

they were the first people of Macedonia who revolted from the king, had their laws restored to them. The Magnesians, Perrhœbii and Dolopes were also declared free. To the Thessalonians, beside the enjoyment of their liberty, was granted that part of Phthiotis which was subject to the Achæans, excepting Thebes and Pharsalus. But when the Ætolians demanded that Leucas and Pharsalus should be restored to them agreeable to treaty, the affair was referred to the senate. Yet they awarded to them Phocea and Locris, as they had formerly been annexed to their dominions. Corinth, Triphylia, and Heræa a city of Peloponnesus, were restored to the Achæans. The commissioners inclined to grant Oreos and Eretria to Eumenes son of king Attalus. But as Flamininus opposed it, the affair was left to the decision of the senate, who granted these two cities their liberty, as they did also to Carystus. Pleuratus had Lychnis and Parthos, two states of Illyricum subject to Philip. They ordered Amynander to take possession of the forts Philip had taken from him in the course of the war.

CHAP. XXXV.

THE council being now dissolved, each of the commissioners took a district, and went to reinstate the cities in their liberty and possessions. Lentulus went to Bargyliæ; Stertinius to Hephestia, Thassos and the cities of Thrace; P. Villius and L. Terentius went to Antiochus, and Cn. Cornelius to Philip. When the latter had, in the terms of his instructions, enquired about matters of small importance, he asked the king, if he had patience to listen to an advantageous and salutary advice? The king answered, yes, and he would be obliged to him to point out any thing to him that was for his good. Then Cornelius earnestly persuaded him, as he had obtained peace, to send ambassadors to demand an alliance with the Romans, to remove all suspicion by his delays of his waiting to seize that favorable opportunity, to renew the war, in case Antiochus should stir. This conference happened at Tempe. When the kin

king reply'd that he would immediately diſpatch ambaſſadors for that purpoſe, Cornelius went to Thermopylæ, where there uſed to be a numerous aſſembly of the Greeks held at ſtated times. This diet was called Pylaicum. Here he in particular admoniſhed the Ætolians to maintain their alliance with Rome with ſteadineſs and fidelity. The Ætolian chiefs complained, 'that the diſpoſitions of the Romans 'towards them was extremely changed ſince the 'victory, from what they were during the war.' Nay ſome of them caſt out ſevere reflections and reproaches, ſaying, 'that without their help the 'Romans could neither have conquered Philip or 'Greece.' To prevent altercations Cornelius declined anſwering theſe reflections, and only ſaid, if they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, the ſenate would do them the ſtricteſt juſtice. By his advice they appointed a deputation to Rome. Thus ended the war with Philip. CHAP. XXXV.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Greece, Macedon and Aſia, Hetruria was haraſſed by a conſpiracy of the ſlaves. M. Acilius the prætor who had the juriſdiction of the city and foreigners, went in queſt of them with one of the two city legions. He routed a body of them who had got together, killed and took a great number of them priſoners: ſome he ſcourged and crucified, particularly the ringleaders of the conſpiracy; others he reſtored to their maſters. The conſuls ſet out for their provinces. Marcellus had entered the territories of the Boii. He had fatigued his men by a long march of a whole day, and while he was encamping upon an eminence, Corolamus a petty king of the Boii attacked him with a conſiderable body of men. The Roman loſt in the battle about 3000 men, among whom were ſeveral perſons of diſtinction; T. Sempronius Gracchus, M. Junius Silanus prefects of the allies; and A. Ogulnius and P. Claudius, tribunes of the ſecond legion. However the Romans fortify'd and defended their lines with great valor, though the enemy upon their ſucceſs at- CHAP. XXXVI.

CHAP. XXXVI. tempted to take them. The conſul for ſeveral days kept his army within their camp, curing the wounded and reviving the ſpirits of his men ſunk by the defeat. The Boii, who through their natural levity are impatient of delays, ſlipped away to their forts and villages. Marcellus immediately paſſed the Po and marched into the territories of Coma, where the Inſubrians of that country, having taken up arms, were encamped. The Gauls fell upon him in his march with ſo much ardor, that they repulſed the light troops in the front. The conſul no ſooner perceived this, than afraid, when they were once put into diſorder, they would give way altogether, he ſent a battalion of the Marſi to oppoſe the enemy, while he made all his Latin cavalry advance. Theſe bravely ſuſtained the firſt and ſecond attacks of the enemy, who puſhed on with the greateſt vigor. By this means the Roman main body rally'd in form and advanced to the charge. The Gauls, no longer able to ſtand, gave way and fled with great precipitation. Valerius Antias ſays, more than 40000 of them were ſlain in that battle, and 57 ſtandards taken, with 432 chariots, a vaſt number of gold rings, one of which, that was very maſſy, Claudius ſays was placed as a gift to Jupiter in his temple in the capitol. The enemy's camp was taken and rifled the ſame day, and the city of Comus a few days after. Then twenty eight ſtrong forts ſurrendered to the conqueror. Hiſtorians are not agreed, whether the conſul marched firſt againſt the Boii or Inſubrians; and whether he wiped off the diſgrace of a defeat by the victory, or having obtained it firſt, ſully'd it by an overthrow he received from the Boii.

CHAP. XXXVII. IN the midſt of this various ſucceſs of Marcellus, the other conſul Furius had come croſs Umbria [a], into the country of the Boii. He had already approached Mutilum [b], when apprehenſive of being

[a] Called *Sapinia* from the river *Savio*. [b] Where *Modogliana* now ſtands at the foot of the *Apennines* between *Faenza* and *Forbi*.

ſurrounded

surrounded by the Boii and Insubrians united, he marched back, and fetching a great compass, over plains and safe routs, joined his collegue. The first thing the combined armies did was to ravage the lands of the Boii as far as Felsina [c]. That city and the other forts, and almost all the Boii, excepting their youth who had taken arms for the sake of booty and retired into unpassable forests, surrendered to them. Then they marched into Liguria. The Boian youth imagining the Roman army would march carelessly because they thought they were at a great distance, flattered themselves with finding an opportunity to attack them, and so followed through the forests. But not coming up with it they crossed the Po, and having ravaged the lands of the Lævi and Lebui, as they were returning with their booty they fell in with the Roman army on the outmost borders of Liguria. They fell on with as much ardor, as if they had appointed the time and place, and had their hearts prepared. This battle was a strong proof how powerfully resentment spirits men on to action. For the Romans, without regarding victory, were solely intent upon slaughter, and scarce left the enemy a messenger to carry home the news of their defeat. The consuls having wrote to Rome of their success, a supplication was appointed for three days. Marcellus soon after returned to Rome, where the fathers unanimously decreed him a triumph. He triumphed for the Insubrians and Comensians: He omitted the Boii, as a reason on which his collegue might found his hopes of the like honor; and in truth he had been defeated by that people, whereas Furius had vanquished them. Much spoil and many chariots belonging to the enemy were carry'd before him: many standards, 320000 asses of brass, and 234000 of silver denarii. To each of his foot he gave 800 asses of brass, and thrice that sum to the troopers and centurions. CHAP. XXXVII.

ABOUT the same time Antiochus, who had CHAP. XXXVIII.

[c] *Bononia.*

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ſpent the winter at Epheſus [a], endeavored to reduce all the cities of Aſia to their ancient ſubjection to his kingdom; flattering himſelf that the other towns would eaſily ſubmit to his yoke, as they were either ſituated on plains, or had neither good walls, arms or men ſufficient to defend them. Smyrna [b] and Lampſachus [c] had ſet up for independent cities, and the king was afraid if he ſuffered them to enjoy their uſurped freedom, other cities in Ætolia and Ionia would follow the example of Smyrna, and others in the Helleſpont, that of Lampſachus. Accordingly he ſent an army from Epheſus to beſiege Smyrna, and ordered the troops in Abydos, all except a ſmall number to gariſon it, to march againſt Lampſachus. He did not only terrify them with hoſtilities, but ſent deputies to ſooth them, and, by making them ſenſible of their temerity and obſtinacy, give them hopes of ſoon obtaining what they deſired: then both they and others would ſee with ſatisfaction, that he had granted them willingly their liberty, and that they had not uſurped it by laying hold of an advantageous opportunity. To this they anſwered, 'that 'Antiochus ought neither to be ſurprized nor enraged, if they could not patiently bear the conſtant 'delays that were made in reſtoring them their liberty.' Early in the ſpring he ſailed in perſon from Epheſus to the Helleſpont. He tranſported his land army to Madytum [d], a city of Cherſoneſus, and there joined them with his fleet. Becauſe the inhabitants ſhut their gates, he inveſted the place, but as his machines were approaching it ſurrendered, as did the other cities of Cherſoneſus. From thence he proceeded to Lyſimachia [e] with all his land and ſea forces. Finding it ruins and almoſt level'd with the ground, for the Thracians had ſacked it a few years before, he had a ſtrong deſire to rebuild that ſtately city, which was ſo finely ſituated. In con-

[a] Famous for a temple of *Diana*. It was built by the *Amazons* near the mouth of the *Cayſtrus*. The *Turks* now call it *Figena*.

[b] One of the capitals of *Ionia*. The *Turks* call it *Iſmir*.

[c] The *Turks* call it *Lepſek*, on the ſouth ſhore of the ſea of *Marmora*, over-againſt *Gallipoli*.

[d] Unknown.

[e] A city of the *Cherſoneſe*.

ſequence

ſequence he applied all his care to build the houſes and walls: to redeem ſuch of the inhabitants as were in ſlavery, and to ſearch for and gather together thoſe who had been diſperſed in the flight over Helleſpont and Cherſoneſus: He alſo hoped to draw abundance of new inhabitants, by giving them hopes of reaping great advantage. At the ſame time to keep off the Thracians, he went in perſon with half his land forces to lay waſte the adjacent parts of Thrace, and left the other half with the ſailors to carry on the work.

CHAP. XXXIX.

AT the ſame time C. Cornelius was ſent by the ſenate, to accommodate the differences between Antiochus and Ptolemy. He ſtopt at Selymbria[a]. P. Lentulus from Bargyliæ, P. Villius, and L. Terentius from Thaſſos met at Lyſimachia. Thither likewiſe came Cornelius from Selymbria, and within a few days Antiochus from Thrace. The firſt meeting between him and the commiſſioners paſſed with mutual civilities and entertainment. But when they came to open their inſtructions, and talk about the preſent ſtate of Aſia, they were extremely warm: The Romans did not heſitate to tell him, that their ſenate was highly offended with every thing he had done ſince he left Syria, and thought it reaſonable that he ſhould reſtore all the cities he now poſſeſſed that belonged to Ptolemy. 'And as to the cities 'he had taken from Philip while he was employ'd 'in the Roman war, it was not ſufferable he ſhould 'poſſeſs them. What, ſaid they, ſhall the Romans 'have undergone ſuch fatigues and dangers by ſea 'and land during ſo many years, and ſhall Antio-'chus carry off the prize of the war? Suppoſe they 'ſhould connive at his coming into Aſia, as it could 'not effect them, yet was it not an open declara-'tion of war againſt them to invade Europe with his 'whole land and ſea forces? He might deny it; 'but it was the ſame as if he had invaded Italy.'

CHAP. XL.

TO this the king anſwered. 'I have long ob-'ſerved, that the Romans are very attentive to the

[a] Now *Selyurea*, ſouth of *Conſtantinople*.

'progreſs

CHAP. XL.

progress I make, but never think of setting bounds to their own conquests by sea or land. You have no concern in Asia, and have as little right to examine what I do there, as I have to enquire what you do in Italy. As to what relates to Ptolemy, from whom you complain I have taken some cities, he is my friend; and I am now taking measures soon to make him my son-in-law. I have not fought to enrich myself with the spoils of Philip in his misfortunes; nor have I invaded Europe against the Romans; but am come with an army to recover the cities of Chersonesus and Thrace. They are part of my dominions; for they were originally subject to Lysimachus, all whose possessions derived to Seleucus by right of conquest; and consequently belong to me. Indeed while my ancestors were occupy'd elsewhere, Ptolemy first, and then Philip usurp'd some of the cities of Thrace that lay next them, and were unquestionably the property of Lysimachus, not their's. I am therefore now come to recover my ancient property, and rebuild Lysimachia, which the Thracians forcibly demolished, in order to make it the capitol of a kingdom for my son Seleucus.'

CHAP. XLI.

THUS they wrangled for several days, but a rumor of the death of king Ptolemy, without any certain author, interrupted their conferences. Both sides pretended they had heard of it. Cornelius, who had been sent ambassador to both kings, demanded a respite of a few days in order to go to Ptolemy; and that he should be allowed time to arrive in Ægypt before any motion should be made for taking possession of a throne only supposed to be vacant. But Antiochus thought Ægypt would be his, in case an opportunity presented itself by the death of Ptolemy. Accordingly he dismissed the Romans, and left his son Seleucus with his land army to finish the rebuilding of Lysimachia, which he had begun: He himself, after having sent ambassadors to Quinctius to treat of an alliance,

coasted

coasted along Asia, and arrived in Lycia[a]. At Patara[b] he received advice that Ptolemy was living, so he drop'd his expedition into Ægypt. However he set sail for Cyprus[c], and after having doubled cape Chelidonium[d], he was detained some time about the river Eurymedon[e] in Pamphylia[f] by a mutiny of his crews. From thence he went to the mouth of the Sarus[g], where his whole fleet was almost lost in a storm. Many of his ships run ashore, and many sunk with all their crews. Here perished not only a great number of mean soldiers and sailors, but many lords of the king's court. After he had drawn together the remains of the shipwreck, and found he was not in a condition to make a descent on Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia[h] with a much less force than what he had set out with. Here as the winter approached he ordered his ships to be laid up, and went himself to Antioch. CHAP. XLI.

THIS was the then state of Antiochus's affairs. This year the triumviri epulones[a] were first instituted at Rome. The persons raised to this office were C. Licinius Lucullus, P. Manlius, who had made the motion for appointing them, and P. Porcius Læca. These triumvirs were by law allow'd to wear the toga pretexta as well as the pontiffs. But this year all the priests had a warm contest with the city questors, Q. Fabius Labeo, and L. Aurelius. Money was wanting to make the last payment of the loan private persons had lent the public during the war. The questors moved it should be levy'd from the augurs and pontiffs, who had born no part of the expence of the war. The priests in vain appeal- CHAP. XLII.

[a] A province of *Asia minor*, between *Caria* to the west and *Pamphylia* to the east.

[b] It stood on an eminence near the mouth of the *Xanthus*.

[c] One of the largest islands in the *Mediterranean*. It's present capital is called *Nicosia*.

[d] A part of mount *Taurus*, according to *Pliny*.

[e] Rising in mount *Taurus*.

[f] Lying between *Lycia* to the west and *Cilicia* to the east.

[g] Rises near *Comana*, runs through part of *Cilicia*, and falls into the gulph of *Adjazza*.

[h] On the banks of the *Calicadnus*, twelve miles from the sea, in *Cilicia*.

[a] Their business was to appoint the days for religious solemnities, to receive pious legacies, and they could confiscate the heir's estate if he did not perform the will of the donor.

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CHAP. XLII.

ed to the plebeian tribunes, and the money was exacted for all the years they had not paid. The same year two pontiffs died. The conſul Marcellus was choſen in room of T. Sempronius Tuditanus, who had died in Spain, and L. Valerius in room of M. Cornelius Cethegus. Beſides Q. Fabius Maximus the augur died very young before he had born any office, and no ſucceſſor was choſen to him this year. Then the conſular elections were held by Marcellus, and the faſces were transfer'd to L. Valerius Flaccus, and M. Porcius Cato. Then C. Fabricius Luſcinus, C. Atinius Labeo, Cn. Manlius Vulſo, Ap. Claud. Nero, P. Manlius, and P. Porcius Læca were choſen prætors. The curule ædiles M. Fulvius Nobilior, and C. Flaminius, diſtributed 1000000 buſhels of wheat at two aſſes per buſhel, which the Sicilians had brought to Rome in honor of Flaminius, and his father Flaminius allow'd his collegue to ſhare in this favor. The Roman games were celebrated thrice over with magnificence. The plebeian ædiles Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, and C. Scribonius, alſo curio maximus, indicted many farmers of the public paſtures before the people: three of them were condemned, and with their fines they built a temple to Faunus on the iſland of Tiber. The plebeian games were celebrated for two days, with great feaſting.

CHAP. XLIII.

L. Val. Flaccus, M. Porc. Cato, conſuls. Y. of R. 557. B. J. C. 195.

THE day on which the conſuls elect enter'd upon their office, they moved the ſenate concerning their provinces. The fathers paſſed a decree ‘ that ſince all Spain was in a flame, and wanted a ‘ conſul and conſular army, the conſuls ſhould either agree between themſelves, or draw lots for ‘ the two provinces, Hither Spain and Italy. He, ‘ to whoſe lot Spain ſhould fall, ſhould carry with ‘ him two Roman legions, 5000 foot and 500 horſe ‘ of the Latines, and 20 ſhips of war. The other ‘ conſul ſhould levy two legions, which would be ‘ ſufficient to overawe Gaul, as the ſtrength and courage of the Inſubrians and Boïi were quite broke

‘ by

'by last year's defeat,' Spain fell to Cato and Italy to Valerius. Then the prætors cast lots. Luscinus got the jurisdiction over the city; Labeo, that over foreigners; Vulso, Sicily; Nero, Further Spain; Læca, Pisa, that he might be on the back of the Ligurians, and Manlius was to go and assist the consul in Hither Spain. As they entertain'd strong suspicions of hostilities not only from Antiochus and the Ætolians, but also from Nabis tyrant of Sparta, Q. Flamininus was continued another year in his command with the legions; and what recruits he wanted the consuls were ordered to levy and send into Macedonia. Besides the old legion, which Q. Fabius commanded, Ap. Claudius was allowed to levy 2000 foot and 200 horse. An equal number of new levy'd horse and foot were assigned to P. Manlius to carry with him into Hither Spain, together with the same legion which had served under the prætor Minucius. Læca had 2000 foot and 500 horse out of the army for Gaul to act about Pisa in Hetruria. Semp. Longus was continued another year in the command of Sardinia. CHAP. XLIII.

THE provinces being divided in this manner, the consuls, by direction of the pontiffs, celebrated a sacred spring, before they set out from the city. The prætor, A. Cornelius Mammula, had vow'd it by order of the senate and people, in the consulate of Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius, twenty two years before. At the same time C. Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen and inaugurated augur in room of Q. Fabius Maximus who died the preceding year. While men were wondering, why the war raised by the Spaniards was neglected, letters arrived from Q. Minucius, importing, 'that he had gain'd 'a victory at the city Turba[a], over two Spanish 'generals, Budares and Besasides, killed 12000 men, 'taken Budares prisoner, and put the rest to flight.' These letters dispel'd the apprehensions they had of a cruel war with Spain. King Antiochus solely engrossed their attention after the arrival of the ten depu- CHAP. XLIV.

[a] Unknown.

ties.

CHAP. XLIV.

ties. For after having given an account of their having concluded a peace, and on what terms, with Philip, they informed the ſenate, 'that they were upon the 'point of having another as important war to ſuſ- 'tain againſt Antiochus. He is come, ſaid they, into 'Europe with a great fleet, and a fine land army. 'And had he not been diverted by a vain hope, 'founded on a very groundleſs rumor, of invad- 'ing Ægypt, Greece had been by this time the 'theatre of a cruel war. Nor would the Ætolians, 'who were naturally a reſtleſs people, and full of 'reſentment againſt the Romans, continue quiet. 'Beſides Greece cheriſhed another dangerous enemy 'in her boſom; Nabis then tyrant of Sparta, and 'who, if he could, would ſoon become ſo of all 'Greece; a tyrant for avarice and cruelty, equal to 'all thoſe of former times famous for theſe vi- 'ces. If he is ſuffered to keep Argos as a citadel 'to command Peloponneſus, you will find it loſt 'labor to have freed Greece from the yoke of Phi- 'lip, as ſoon as your legions ſhall be brought back 'to Italy. Inſtead of a foreign king, a tyrant at 'home will enſlave that country.'

CHAP. XLV.

THE old ſenators, conſidering that the authors of this intelligence were perſons of credit, and who alſo had diligently enquired into the facts, reſolved, that, laying aſide all thoughts of Antiochus, as that king, for great reaſon, was gone into Syria, they ſhould immediately deliberate on proper meaſures to be taken againſt the Spartan tyrant. After long and warm debates, whether there was ſufficient ground to declare war immediately againſt him, or to leave T. Quinctius at liberty to act as he ſhould judge moſt for the intereſt of the republic, they reſolved to refer to his diſcretion what ſhould be done with regard to Nabis: for they did not deem it a matter of ſuch conſequence as to engroſs the concern of the whole ſtate. They thought a more intereſting ſubject of their deliberation would be, to conſider what ſteps Hannibal and the Carthaginians would

take in caſe a war ſhould break out between Antiochus and the Romans. Thoſe of the oppoſite faction to Hannibal at Carthage had from time to time wrote to the principal men and their friends at Rome, 'that meſſages and letters paſſed between Antiochus and Hannibal, and that the king had ſent 'ambaſſadors ſecretly to him. As ſome wild beaſts 'can never be tamed, ſo it was impoſſible to bring 'down or appeaſe the ſpirit of that Carthaginian: 'he complained that the citizens of Carthage languiſhed with idleneſs and inaction, and that it was 'impoſſible to rouze them from their ſtupefaction, 'but with the ſound of war.' The memory of the preceding war, which he had not only ſuſtained but raiſed, made theſe accounts gain credit. Beſides he had provoked many powerful men at Carthage by a late action. CHAP. XV.

THE judges were then perpetual, by which means they had the chief ſway at Carthage. The eſtate, credit and life of every perſon was in their power. He that had one had all the bench for his enemy, and there never was wanting ſome buſy body to accuſe ſuch perſons as were obnoxious to them. While they exerciſed their authority tyrannically, and did not uſe their power with the moderation common in free ſtates, Hannibal, being choſen prætor, ſummoned a queſtor to appear before him. But he deſpiſed the citation, for he was of the oppoſite faction, and as the queſtors at the expiration of their office became judges of the higheſt order, the expectation of the power he was ſoon to be veſted with raiſed his pride. But Hannibal, reſenting the affront, ordered an officer to ſeize him, and, bringing him before the aſſembly of the people, not only complain'd of him, but of the whole bench of judges, by means of whoſe inſolence and tyranny, all laws and magiſtracies were aboliſhed. Obſerving likewiſe that his ſpeech was received with approbation, and that their tyranny oppreſſed the liberty of the meaneſt perſons in the ſtate, he moved CHAP. XVI.

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CHAP. XLVI.

the assembly and immediately obtained a decree, that for the future the judges should be chosen annually, and that none of them should continue in office two years successively. But if this proceding was very agreeable to the commonalty, many of the nobles were as highly offended at it. By another step also, though it was for the public good, he procured himself enemies. Some of the public money had been embezzled through carelessness, and some of it secreted and divided among several of the principal men and magistrates; so that there was not sums sufficient to pay the Romans their annual tribute, and a new tax was going to be laid for that purpose. After Hannibal had made an estimate of the revenue arising from their taxes by land and customs by sea, so as to see what of it was consumed in the service of the state, and what was embezzled by these blood suckers, he represented in the assembly of the people, that by demanding back the secreted sums, private persons would be freed from the tax, and the commonwealth rich enough to pay the Romans their tribute. He verified his assertion. Then these cater-pillars, who had lived several years by robbing the public, as much enraged and exasperated, as if their real effects had been plundered, instead of what they had stoln being wrested out of their hands, provoked against Hannibal the Romans, who sought of themselves an occasion to vent their malice against him. For this reason Scipio Africanus insisted long and strenuously, that it was below the dignity of the Roman people to subscribe their names to the malicious accusations brought against Hannibal, and give a public sanction to the factions of Carthage. Was it not enough that they had conquered him in war; but must they also become his accusers, swear a calumny against him, and prosecute him as if he was arraigned before a judge. However it was carry'd for sending three ambassadors, C. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, and Q. Terentius Culleo, to accuse Hannibal before the Carthaginian senate of plotting

with king Antiochus to make war on the Romans. On their arrival, by concert with Hannibal's enemies, they ordered ſuch as enquired their errand to be told, that they were come to adjuſt ſome differences between the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa. This was generally believed. But Hannibal was too ſagacious not to ſee the Romans aimed ſolely at him, and that though they had granted peace to Carthage, yet there ſtill remained an irreconcileable enmity and war againſt him alone. Therefore he reſolved to yield to fortune and comply with the times. Having prepared every thing neceſſary for his flight, he appeared in public all day, to prevent ſuſpicion, and in the evening walked in his uſual dreſs out of the gate with two domeſtics, who knew nothing of his intended eſcape. CHAP. XLVI.

FINDING his horſes ready at the place appointed, he poſted that night beyond the diſtrict of Vol[a], and next morning reached his own caſtle between Acholla[b], and Thapſus[c]. There he went on board a ſhip which waited for him ready to put to ſea. Thus did Hannibal leave Afric, oftener lamenting the fate of his country than his own misfortunes. The ſame day he landed at the iſland of Cercina[d]. Finding ſeveral merchants ſhips in that port, and that great crowds came to ſalute him at his landing, he ordered it to be given out, that he was going ambaſſador to Tyre. However being afraid, leſt ſome of theſe ſhips ſailing away ſhould give information at Thapſus or Acholla, that he had been ſeen at Cercina, he ordered a ſacrifice to be prepared, to aſſiſt at which he invited all the merchants and captains of the ſhips, and to beg they would bring their ſails and yards to make a tent to ſhade them during the entertainment, for it was then the middle of ſummer. That day's entertainment was as ſumptuous and ſplendid as the time and circumſtances would allow, and they drank very plen- CHAP. XLVII.

[a] Not far from *Tunis*.
[b] Between *Thapſus* and *Ruſpæ*.
[c] Between *Ruſpæ* and *Adrumetum*, in the *Byſacene* province.
[d] See vol. IV.

CHAP. XLVII.

tifully till late at night. As ſoon as Hannibal ſaw a fit opportunity of eſcaping the notice of thoſe in the harbor, he weighed anchor and ſailed away. The reſt were faſt aſleep. Agreeable to the Carthaginian's intention, being diſordered by their debauch over night, the next day was far advanced before they awoke, and they ſpent ſeveral hours in fixing their yards and bending their ſails. At Carthage, the multitude, accuſtom'd to frequent Hannibal's houſe, repaired in crowds to the porch of it in the morning. But on it's being noiſed about that he was not to be found, they convened in the forum, enquiring after their chief magiſtrate. Some gave out, which happened to be true, that he was fled, others boldly aſſerted that he was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by the procurement of the Romans. Then one might have ſeen many perſons very differently affected, as uſually happens in ſtates rent into factions. But at length accounts arrived, informing them that he had been ſeen at Tyre. The Roman ambaſſadors being admitted to an audience of the ſenate declared, 'the Roman fathers had certain intelligence, that Hannibal had formerly excited king Philip againſt them. And now he correſponded with Antiochus by letters and meſſages with the ſame view. That he would not reſt, till he had kindled the flames of war through the univerſe. If the Carthaginians deſired to ſatisfy the Romans, that their ſtate was not concerned in theſe intrigues, and that they were contrary to their inclination, they ought not to ſuffer them to paſs with impunity.' The Carthaginians reply'd, that they would do whatever the Romans ſhould think proper. Hannibal arrived ſafe at Tyre, where he was received, as into another native country, with all the reſpect due to ſo illuſtrious a warrior born and bred in a ſtate which owed it's riſe to the Tyrians. He ſtaid only a few days here, and then ſet ſail for Antioch. The king was already gone from thence, but he was graciouſly received by his ſon

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who was celebrating a feſtival at Daphne[a]. After a ſhort conference, he haſtened his departure. He ſet ſail for Epheſus after the king, who was yet wavering and undetermined about the Roman war. But Hannibal's preſence contributed much to turn the ſcale. At the ſame time the Ætolians broke their alliance with Rome, becauſe Quinctius had refuſed to deliver up to their deputies Pharſalia and Leucæ, and ſome other cities they clamed by virtue of the firſt treaty. CHAP. XLVII.

[a] *Daphne* was one of the ſuburbs of *Antioch*. Near it and on the banks of *Orontes* was a delicious grove, in the middle of which was a temple dedicated to *Apollo* and *Diana*.

BOOK XXXIV.

The Oppian law, which C. Oppius tribune of the commons had made in time of the Carthaginian war, for regulating the ladies apparel, repealed, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Por. Cato. Cato ſails to Spain, and beginning at Emporiæ reduces all the Hither province. T. Quinctius Flamininus ſucceſsfully terminates the war againſt the Lacedæmonians, and their tyrant Nabis, having granted them peace on his own terms, and ſet the Argians, who were under the dominion of the tyrant, free. The ſenators firſt have places in the theatres ſeparate from the people. This the cenſors Sex. Ælius Pætus, and C. Cornelius Cethegus effect, though the commons are enraged at it. Several colonies ſettled. M. Por. Cato triumphs on account of Spain. Beſides the ſucceſs in Spain, this book alſo contains an account of the victories gained over the Boii, and Inſubrian Gauls. T. Q. Flamininus, having conquered Philip king of Macedon, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta, and ſet all Greece free, is granted a triumph for three days on account of theſe accumulated exploits. Ambaſſadors from Carthage bring advice, that Hannibal, who had fled to Antiochus, was concerting meaſures with him for making war on the Romans. Hannibal attempts to excite the Carthaginians to rebellion by means of Ariſto a Tyrian, whom he ſends to Carthage without any written inſtructions.

AMIDST the cares of great wars either ſcarce finiſhed, or approaching, there happened an incident of itſelf trifling, but which by heat of parties CHAP. I.

CHAP. I.

ties occaſioned a great conteſt. M. Fundanius, and L. Valerius tribunes of the commons moved the people to repeal the Oppian law. C. Oppius tribune of the commons had paſſed this law during the conſulate of Q. Fabius, and T. Sempronius in the very heat of the Carthaginian war. 'That no lady 'ſhould uſe above half an ounce of gold in her dreſs, 'nor wear habits of different colours, nor be carried 'in Rome or any other town, or within a mile of it, 'in chariots drawn by horſes, except on occaſion 'of public ſacrifices.' M. and P. Junius Brutus tribunes of the people defended the Oppian law: and declared they would not ſuffer it to be repealed. Many of the nobility join'd in the conteſt, ſome to ſupport the law, and ſome againſt it. The capitol was filled with crowds of the populace, ſome favoring the law, and ſome oppoſing it. The ladies could not be kept within their houſes either by authority, decency, or the commands of their huſbands; but beſieged all the ſtreets of the city, and the avenues to the forum; intreating the men as they paſſed to it, to permit the ladies, at a time the commonwealth was floriſhing, and the eſtates of individuals daily increaſing, to wear their ancient ornaments. This meeting of the ladies increaſed daily. For they aſſembled even from the villages and market towns. Nay they went ſo far as to addreſs and petition the conſuls, prætors, and other magiſtrates; but they found M. Por. Cato one of the conſuls altogether inexorable, and he ſpoke in favor of the law that was going to be repealed to the following effect.

CHAP. II.

'ROMANS, If every one of us had known 'how to preſerve his authority, and prerogative over 'his own wife, we ſhould not have been tormented 'with this crowd. But now that imperious ſex having deſtroyed our liberties at home, would cruſh 'and trample under foot our privileges in the forum: 'and becauſe they are not a match for each of us in 'particular, they threaten us in a body. Hitherto I 'verily thought it a fabulous and fictitious report,

'that

CHAP. II.

'that in a certain iſland[a] all the males were maſſa-
'cred by a conſpiracy of the women. All nations
'are in equal danger, if the women are ſuffered to
'form cabals, aſſemblies and goſſipings. And I can
'ſcarce determine whether their riotous aſſembling
'in itſelf, or the manner of it be of moſt perni-
'cious conſequence. It is the province of us the
'conſuls, and other magiſtrates, to put a ſtop to their
'aſſembling in public; but yours to make them
'act with decency. As to the ſubject of the preſent
'motion, you who are to give your ſuffrages on it
'are to judge, whether it be for the intereſt of the
'commonwealth or not; whether this terrible uproar
'of the women is to be aſcribed to their own or
'your procurement, M. Fundanius and L. Valerius.
'It is undoubtedly a reflection on the magiſtrates;
'but I know not whether the reproach falls moſt
'on you, tribunes, or the conſuls. On you cer-
'tainly, if you have now brought the women to ſtir
'up tribunicial tumults: on us if we have laws im-
'pos'd upon us by a ſeceſſion of the women, as we
'had formerly by that of the commons. Truly I
'could not help bluſhing when I came a while ago
'through ſuch a crowd of women to the forum, and
'had not the reſpect I bear to the rank and modeſty
'of particulars, rather than of them all in general,
'withheld me, and that it might not be ſaid they
'were publickly rebuked by a conſul, I would have
'aſked them what manners are theſe to run mob-
'bing into the ſtreets, block up the high ways, and
'make your court to men who are not your own
'huſbands. Could not each of you have aſk'd the
'favor in queſtion of your huſbands at home? Are
'you more liberal of your blandiſhments in publick
'than in private, and leſs coy to ſtrangers than your
'own huſbands! Even at home if modeſty could
'confine ladies within their own ſpheres, they would
'not think it decent to concern themſelves about
'what laws are enacted or repealed in this place.
'Our anceſtors would not permit women to tranſact

[a] *Lemnos.*

CHAP. II.

'even private affairs without a director, and they 'were under the authority of fathers, brothers, and 'husbands. We, (God preserve us) are now to 'allow them to take upon them the government of 'the state, to assemble in the forum, harangue the 'people, and vote in the comitia. Have they any 'other view in being in the streets and cross ways, 'except that some should support the tribunes mo- 'tion, and others vote for repealing the law? You 'must curb an untractable an untamed animal. Ne- 'ver imagine women will set bounds to their licen- 'tiousness if you do not. The law in question is the 'least grievous of all the laws and customs, which 'they with the greatest uneasiness see imposed on 'them. They want liberty, yea to speak more just- 'ly, licentiousness without control. And what will 'they not attempt, if they gain their present point?

CHAP. III.

'RECOLLECT all the laws by which our 'ancestors have restrain'd their licentiousness, and 'subjected them to the men. By all these you can 'scarce keep them within bounds. What then will 'be your case if by suffering them to carp at, and 'repeal them one after another, you put them upon 'an equality with the men? Do you believe they 'will quietly rest there? No! If once equals they 'will soon become superiors. But let us consider 'their wants. They desire no new law should be 'passed against them: They do not petition against 'any reasonable thing, but against an injury: Yea, 'it is that you would repeal a law, which you have 'ratified and enacted by your suffrages, have ap- 'proved by the practice and experience of so many 'years: that is, that by abolishing this one law you 'may weaken the authority of the rest. No law is 'equally commodious to all men: All that is re- 'quired is that it be beneficial to the greater part, 'and to the republic in general. If when a law 'proves hurtful to any one's private interest, it were 'to be annul'd and cancel'd; to what purpose would 'it be to enact any laws at all, which were presently

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CHAP. III.

'to be repealed by thoſe againſt whom they were made? But let us hear the reaſon why the ladies run thus mobbing about the ſtreets, and ſcarce forbear coming into the forum, and publick aſſembly. Is it to aſk us to ranſom their fathers, huſbands, children and brothers from Hannibal? Such a misfortune is far, and may it always be far, from our commonwealth. But even when it was her caſe you refuſed to hear their pious prayers. But ſince it is not affection or concern for their relations, it is perhaps religion that hath aſſembled them? They are to receive the Idæan mother[a], juſt arrived from Peſſinus in Phrygia. Can even a ſpecious reaſon be aſſigned for this female inſurrection? That we may ſhine in gold and purple, ſay they, that we may ride through the city in our chariots upon feſtival and other days, triumphing as it were over the conquered and repealed law, and the ſuffrages which we have wreſted from you: that our expences may be unlimited, and our luxury uncontrol'd.

CHAP. IV.

'YOU have often heard me complain of the expence both of the women, and of the men, not only of private perſons, but even of magiſtrates, and that the ſtate was in danger from two different vices, avarice and luxury, plagues which have proved the ruin of all great empires. Their vices I dread the more, as the commonwealth becomes more floriſhing and ſucceſsful, and extends her dominion every day; as we have now paſſed into Greece and Aſia, countries full of all kinds of temptations to ungovernable paſſions, and even handle royal treaſures: I am alarmed leſt theſe things ſhould rather enſlave us, than we obtain the ſway over them. Believe me, the bringing fine paintings from Syracuſe to Rome was introducing dangerous enemies. I now hear too many commending and admiring the ornaments of Corinth and Athens; and deriding the earthen ſtatues of our own Deities placed in the fronts of our temples.

[a] *Cybele.*

CHAP. IV.

'For my own part I chuſe rather to have theſe
'Gods propitious, and ſo I hope they will be, if we
'ſuffer them to remain in their own habitations. In
'the memory of our fathers Pyrrhus attempted to
'bribe not only the men, but the women, by his
'ambaſſador Cineas. The Oppian law was not then
'paſſed to reſtrain the luxury of women: Yet none
'of them accepted his bribe. And what was the
'cauſe do you think? The ſame which our anceſ-
'tors had, for not making any law about this affair.
'There was no luxury to be reſtrained. As it is
'neceſſary that diſeaſes be known before their re-
'medies; ſo vicious appetites aroſe before laws were
'made to reſtrain them. What gave birth to the
'law about reſtraining land eſtates to five hundred
'acres, but the eager deſire of adding field to field?
'What to the Cincian law concerning gifts and
'bribes, but that the common people were become
'tributaries and penſioners to the ſenate? Therefore
'it is no ſurprize that neither the Oppian nor any o-
'ther law was wanting for reſtraining the expences
'of women, at the time refuſed to accept the gold
'and purple that was voluntarily offered them.
'Should Cineas now go about the city with his bribes,
'he would find enough to accept them ſtanding in
'the ſtreets. There are ſome paſſions which I can-
'not by any means account for. Perhaps a little
'ſhame or indignation might ariſe at being prohibit-
'ed what others are indulged in; but where all the
'ladies are dreſſed in the ſame manner, why ſhould
'each of you be uneaſy that ſhe is not ſingular in
'her's? It is a culpable thing to bluſh for frugality
'or poverty: but the law has ſecured you in both
'caſes, as it only deprives you of what you ought
'not to have. But, ſays a fine lady with a great
'fortune, I cannot bear this equality; ſhould not
'I be diſtinguiſhed by wearing gold and purple?
'Why ſhould the poverty of other women be ſo
'ſkreened by a law, as to make it be believed they
'would have had what they are not able to afford

'if

'if it had been lawful? Romans, would you create an emulation of this kind among your wives? Do you desire to see the rich coveting to have what others cannot attain, and the poor, to avoid contempt, making efforts in expence beyond their abilities? Certainly she who begins to blush at what she ought not, will soon cease to be ashamed of what she ought. When she has money she will purchase ornaments with it: When she has none she will ask money of her husband. Unhappy is the husband, if he grants, unhappy if he refuses! For he shall see another supply her with what he would not. Do they not already publickly make their request to other women's husbands, and which is more they earnestly solicite a law and suffrages, which they even obtain of some, while they are inexorable with regard to thee, thy estate, and thy children? If your wives expences are no longer limited by law, you yourself will never be able to restrain them. Do not vainly imagine, Romans, that things will be upon the same footing they were before this law was passed. It is safer for a wicked man not to be accused, than be acquitted: and luxury unmolested would have been more tolerable, than now when, after being provoked, like a wild beast by chains, it is again let loose. It is my opinion that the Oppian law ought by no means to be repealed. I wish all the Gods may prosper whatever you resolve.'

CHAP. IV.

CHAP. V.

THIS speech was seconded by the tribunes of the commons, who had declared they would oppose the bill. Then L. Valerius thus harangued the assembly, in favor of the motion which he himself had made. 'If my motion, Romans, had been opposed or supported by private persons only, I would have waited your suffrages in silence, and been content with the reasons urged on both sides. But the consul, M. Porcius, a man of distinguished gravity, and whose authority alone, had he said nothing, would have had weight enough, has in a

'long

CHAP. V.

'long and elaborate ſpeech inveighed againſt my
'bill, I think myſelf obliged to make a ſhort reply.
'He has ſpent more time in caſting reflections on the
'ladies, than in invalidating our petition. Nay that
'he ſeemed to doubt whether the matrons had done
'what he cenſured, of their own accord, or by our
'advice. I ſhall vindicate the action but not our-
'ſelves, whom the conſul hath rather aſperſed in
'word only, than accuſed of a real crime. That
'the ladies publickly ſolicited you to repeal in time
'of peace, and when the commonwealth is floriſh-
'ing and happy, a law made againſt them, in time
'of war and adverſity, he calls a mobbing, ſedition,
'nay ſometimes a ſeceſſion of the women: big words,
'choſen on purpoſe with others, to exaggerate the
'matter! But we know Cato is not only a grave
'orator, but ſometimes a ſevere one, though at the
'ſame time of a very humane diſpoſition. For what
'is there new in the ladies appearing publickly in a
'numerous body to ſolicite a cauſe that concerns
'themſelves? Did they never appear in public be-
'fore? I will cite your own book De Originibus. It
'ſhews they have often done it, and always for the
'public good. Now to begin with the reign of Ro-
'mulus: When the capitol was ſeized by the Sa-
'bins, and the two armies engaged in the middle of
'the forum, was not the conflict terminated by the
'interpoſition of the women? What! After the ex-
'pulſion of the kings, when the Volſcian legions,
'with Coriolanus Marcius at their head, encamped
'within five miles of Rome, did not the ladies turn
'away that army, which threatned total deſtruction
'to this city? And when Rome was taken by the
'Gauls, with what was it ranſomed? Truly the la-
'dies unanimouſly contributed their gold to relieve
'the public. In the late war (that I may not re-
'peat things of ancient date) was not the wants of
'the treaſury ſupply'd by the widows money? And
'when new Gods were ſent for to give their aſſiſt-
'ance in perilous times, the women ſet out in a body

'towards

'towards the ſea to receive Cybele mother of the 'Gods. But you will ſay the motives were different; 'neither do I propoſe to put them on the ſame foot-'ing. It ſuffices for their juſtification, that they have 'done no new thing. Beſides, why ſhould we won-'der at their acting thus in an affair which particu-'larly concerns themſelves, when no body was ſur-'prized at their doing ſo in matters belonging to all, 'both men and women? But after all, what have 'they done? Before the Gods, we have nice ears, if 'they are offended at the requeſts of ladies of di-'ſtinction, when even maſters do not reject the pray-'ers of their ſlaves.'

CHAP. VI.

'I COME now to the fact in queſtion, in ſpeak-'ing to which the grave conſul advanced two things. 'In the firſt place with uncommon warmth he in-'ſiſted that no law ought to be repealed: and ſe-'condly, that the law reſtraining the luxury of women, 'in particular, ſhould ſubſiſt in all it's force. What he 'urged in regard to the firſt was worthy of a conſul; 'and his ſpeech againſt luxury agreeable to his too 'rigid manners. Therefore to guard againſt your 'being led into miſtakes, we ſhall ſhew you what 'was ſpecious in his arguments on both topicks. I 'acknowledge, that as laws inſtituted, not for a li-'mited time, but for ever, for the ſake of their 'perpetual utility, ought never to be repealed, un-'leſs by experience they are found defective, or ſome 'change in the commonwealth hath rendered them 'ineffectual; ſo I am ſenſible there are other laws to 'which recourſe has been had in certain conjunctures. 'Theſe are, to uſe the expreſſion, mortal, and 'changeable, as the occaſions, to ſuit which they were 'made, alter. Thoſe made during peace are gene-'rally annulled during war, and thoſe inſtituted in 'war repealed in time of peace, as a ſhip is diffe-'rently managed in fair weather and in ſtorms. Since 'theſe two kinds of laws are of ſo different a nature, 'let us conſider of which kind the law in queſtion 'is. Is it an ancient law of the kings, coeval

'with

CHAP. VI.

'with the city itſelf? Or did it receive it's birth in 'the ſecond period of Roman ſtatutes; and was it 'found in the twelve tables compiled by the decem-'virs appointed for making laws? Is it of ſuch a na-'ture, that our anceſtors believed it impoſſible to pre-'ſerve decency among women without it, and we 'ought to be afraid, leſt by repealing it we baniſh mo-'deſty and decorum from the ſex? On the contrary 'every body knows this is a new law, enacted only 20 'years ago in the conſulate of Q. Fabius and T. Sem-'pronius? And ſince the Ladies behaved themſelves 'without reproach during the many ages before it 'took place, what danger can there be of their a-'bandoning themſelves to luxury after it's repeal? If 'it had been inſtituted with a view to exterminate 'their extravagant paſſions, we might fear the abro-'gation of it would revive them; but the conjunc-'ture in which it was made is a proof of what gave 'riſe to it. Hannibal was in the heart of Italy, and 'had gained the victory at Cannæ: He was in poſ-'ſeſſion of Tarentum, Arpi, and Capua; and ſeem-'ed on the point of marching to Rome. Our allies 'had revolted, we had no ſoldiers for recruits, no 'ſeamen in the fleet, no money in the treaſury: we 'bought ſlaves to be ſoldiers, on condition to pay the 'price to their maſters at the end of the war: The 'publicans engaged to furniſh corn, and other neceſ-'ſaries for the army, on condition of being reim-'burſed at the ſame term: we provided ſlaves for 'the oar, and paid them our ſelves, the number be-'ing ſettled according to every man's eſtate: widows 'and orphans brought their money into the treaſury. 'We were reſtricted to a certain quantity of gold and 'ſilver plate, and to a ſtated ſum of ſilver and cop-'per money in our families. Could the ladies at ſo 'calamitous a conjuncture be ſo abandoned to luxury 'and taken up with dreſs, that the Oppian law was 'wanted to reſtrain them? Were not the ſacrifices to 'Ceres long delay'd, becauſe the women were all in 'mourning? Why did the ſenate confine the term of

'mourning to thirty days? Who ſees not that the 'want and miſery of the ſtate gave occaſion to the 'law, becauſe the money of all private perſons was 'to be applied to the uſe of the public, and that it 'was to continue in force no longer than the reaſon 'of it ſubſiſted? If what were either decreed by the 'ſenate, or commanded by the people on that par-'ticular occaſion, are to continue in force for ever, 'why do we repay private perſons their money? 'why do we bargain for the public for ready money? 'why are not ſlaves bought for ſoldiers? why do not 'private people maintain rowers as they then did?

CHAP. VII.

'ALL other ranks of men feel the effects of the 'happy change of public affairs; and ſhall our wives 'alone be excluded from taſting the fruits of peace 'and tranquillity? Shall the men wear purple? ſhall 'it be worn by thoſe in the magiſtracy and prieſt-'hood? ſhall our children wear gowns edged with 'it? ſhall the magiſtrates of municipal towns; ſhall 'even the dregs of colonies, and beadles have liber-'ty to wear robes with purple borders? Shall they 'not only wear this honorable cloth during their 'life time, but even be burnt in it at their death; 'and ſhall women alone be prohibited the uſe of 'purple? When huſbands are allowed to have pur-'ple in the furniture of their horſes, will you not 'permit your wives to have a purple cloak? Shall 'your horſes be more ſumptuouſly adorned than 'your wives? But I perceive there is a reaſon aſſign-'ed, though an unjuſt one, for being ſparing in the 'uſe of purple, becauſe it is liable to be torn, and 'to fade. Yet what malignity is there in gold, in 'which there is no loſs, excepting the faſhion? The 'permiſſion of the uſe of it will be very bene-'ficial to the public in particular, as you have ex-'perienced. But, ſays Cato, there will be no e-'mulation among the women, when they are all 'on a footing with regard to dreſs. But, by hea-'vens, what envy and indignation will it raiſe 'in all the Roman women when they ſee theſe 'ornaments, prohibited to them, allowed to the

'wives

CHAP. VII.

'wives of their allies, the Latins: when they ſee them
'glittering in gold and purple; and riding through
'the city, while they follow on foot, as if the ſeat of
'the empire were in their cities and not in Rome?
'This would ſeverely mortify men: what impreſſion
'then do you think muſt it make on the poor wo-
'men, who are affected with trifles? They can neither
'enjoy magiſtracies, prieſthoods, triumphs, trophies,
'rewards or ſpoils of war: neatneſs, ornament, and
'dreſs are their triumphs: in theſe they delight, in
'theſe they glory; our anceſtors called thoſe wo-
'men's world. What elſe do they lay aſide in mourn-
'ing but their gold and purple? what when they
'leave it off, but put them on again? By what do
'they diſtinguiſh feſtivals and ſolemn proceſſions, but
'by a finer dreſs than ordinary? But it is feared, if
'you repeal the Oppian law, it will not be in your
'power (if you would) to reſtrain them from any
'thing which that law now forbids: your daughters,
'wives, and even ſome of your ſiſters will be leſs un-
'der your authority. But in anſwer to this conſider,
'the ſubjection of women muſt ſubſiſt as long as their
'relations live; and they themſelves abhor the liberty
'which they acquire by becoming widows and or-
'phans. They had rather the regulation of their dreſs
'was left to you, than at the mercy of the law; and
'you ought to hold them under your protection and
'guardianſhip, not under ſlavery; and chuſe rather
'to be ſtiled parents and huſbands than maſters. The
'conſul juſt now made uſe of ſome invidious expreſ-
'ſions, a ſedition, a ſeceſſion of the women. As if
'there was danger, leſt they ſhould ſeize the ſacred
'mount, or the Aventine hill, as the enraged com-
'mons did in times paſt. No! their weakneſs obliges
'them to ſubmit to whatever you ſhall determine.
'The greater your power is, the more moderate you
'ought to be in the exerciſe of it.

CHAP. VIII.

AFTER the law had been thus ſpoken for and againſt, next day the ladies appeared in public in greater crowds than before: in a body they beſet the gate

of all the tribunes, who oppoſed the motion of their collegues; neither did they withdraw till they deſiſted. Then it was certain the law would be abrogated by all the tribes. It was repealed juſt twenty years after it had been made. As ſoon as the Oppian law was repealed, the conſul Cato ſet out for the port of Luna [a] with 25 men of war, five of which belonged to the allies, having ordered the army to rendezvous at the ſame place. He ſent an edict along the towns on the coaſt for getting together ſhips of all kinds, and at his departure from Luna ordered them to follow him to the port de Vendres, from whence he intended to ſail againſt the enemy with a numerous fleet. Coaſting along the Ligurian mountains, and the gulph of Lyons, they rendezvouſed on the day he had fixed. From thence they came to Rhoda, where they drove the Spaniſh gariſon out of the caſtle. From Rhoda they ſailed with a fair wind to Emporiæ: there all the forces were landed except the ſeamen. CHAP. VIII.

AT that time Emporiæ was divided into two cities ſeparated by a common wall. The one inhabited by Greeks from Phocæa, of the ſame original with the Maſſilians; the other by Spaniards. The Greek town lay next the ſea, and was encloſed by a wall near 400 paces in circuit: The wall of the Spaniſh town, which ſtood further from the ſea, was 3 miles round. A colony of Romans was afterwards ſettled there by Cæſar after the defeat of Pompey's ſons. At this time they were all blended together in one body; the Spaniards firſt and then the Greeks being made Roman citizens. It is matter of ſurprize that they could defend themſelves, when one conſiders how they were expoſed, on one ſide to the open ſea, and on the other to the Spaniards, a fierce and warlike nation. Diſcipline was what preſerved them in their weak eſtate, and fear makes it be ſtrictly kept up amongſt thoſe that live amidſt neighbors more powerful than themſelves. They kept that part of the wall, which faced the continent, very well fortified, and had only one gate in it: CHAP. IX.

[a] *Luna* ſtood at the mouth of the river *Macra*.

One

CHAP. IX. One of the magiſtrates continually guarded it. By night a third part of the citizens kept watch upon the wall. Nor did they obſerve their watches and go their rounds only for form's ſake or dread of the law, but with as much care as they would if an enemy had been at the gates. They admitted no Spaniard into the town; nor did they go out of it without precaution. The paſſage towards the ſea was open to all. They never went out at the gate which led towards the Spaniſh town, unleſs in great companies, almoſt a third part, whoſe turn had been to keep watch upon the walls the night before. The cauſe of their going out was this: the Spaniards being ignorant of the ſea were glad of their commerce; and they themſelves were willing to purchaſe goods for exportation, and to buy corn. The mutual need they ſtood in of each other's help, made the Spaniards grant the Greeks a free acceſs to their town. The alliance of the latter with the Romans contributed greatly to their ſafety. This alliance they maintained with as much fidelity as the Maſſilians, though they were leſs able to aſſiſt the Romans. At this time they entertained the conſul and the army in a liberal and courteous manner. Cato, having ſtay'd there a few days, to diſcover where and how great the enemy's forces were, that this time might not be ſpent in vain, employ'd it in exerciſing his troops. It happened to be the ſeaſon of the year, that the Spaniards have their corn in granaries; therefore he prohibited his purveyors to buy up any and ſent them back to Rome; 'My troops '(ſaid he) will ſubſiſt themſelves while they are at 'war.' Marching from Emporiæ he ſpread fire and ſword through all the enemy's country, alarming and putting to flight all the inhabitants.

CHAP. X. ABOUT the ſame time, as M. Helvius was marching out of the Further Spain with a guard of 6000 ſoldiers, given him by Ap. Claudius the prætor, the Celtiberians met him with a great army at Illiturgis. Valerius ſays they were 20000 in number, of which 12000 were ſlain, Illiturgis retaken, and al

arrive

arrived at the age of puberty put to the ſword. From thence Helvius arrived at Cato's camp. And becauſe the country was now ſafe, from the enemy's having ſent back his guard into the further province, he went to Rome, where on account of his ſucceſs he received the honor of an ovation. He brought into the treaſury 14732 pound weight of bullion, and 17023 ſilver denarii in ſpecie, and 20438 pound weight of ſilver taken out of the mines of Hueſca. The reaſon why the ſenate refuſed him a triumph was, becauſe he had fought under the auſpices and in the province of another. He returned two years after the province was reſigned to his ſucceſſor Q. Minucius, having been detained there the year following by a tedious and grievous fit of illneſs. By this means he only entered the city in an ovation two months before his ſucceſſor Q. Minucius triumphed. The latter likewiſe brought 34800 pound weight of bullion, 78000 pieces of coined ſilver, and 278000 ſilver from the mines of Hueſca. CHAP. X.

IN the mean time the conſul was encamped not far from Emporiæ; thither came three ambaſſadors from Biliſtages a petty king of the Ilergetes. At the head of the deputation was his ſon. They complained that their forts were aſſaulted, and that they had no hopes of reſiſting, unleſs they were aſſiſted by a Roman gariſon. 5000 would be ſufficient, nor would the enemies ſtay after the coming of ſuch a force. To this the conſul replied, 'That he was moved indeed 'both with their danger and fear, but could not with 'ſafety diminiſh his ſtrength by dividing it, when a 'numerous army of the enemy was ſo near, and 'when he was in daily expectation of coming to a bat-'tle with them.' The ambaſſadors hearing this, fell at the conſul's feet with tears, conjuring him 'not to 'forſake them in a time of ſo great danger. For where 'could they go, if they were rejected by the Romans? 'they had no allies, no other hopes in the whole 'world: they might have been free from that dan-'ger, if they would have violated their faith and con-'ſpired with the reſt. In hopes of ſufficient aid and CHAP. XI.

'assistance from the Romans, no menaces, no terri-
'fying arguments, had made any impression on them.
'But if these hopes should fail, if aid should be de-
'nied them by the consul, they called Gods and men
'to witness, that they should be forced to revolt con-
'trary to their inclination, to prevent their sharing
'the same fate with the Saguntines, and that they
'would rather perish with the rest of the Spaniards,
'than by themselves.'

CHAP. XII.

THAT day the consul gave them no answer. The night following Cato was strangely perplexed: he would not abandon his allies; neither would he diminish his army, as it would either oblige him to defer fighting, or expose him if he engaged: so he resolved not to diminish his forces, lest the enemy should insult him in the mean time; and to encourage his allies with hopes only instead of real aid, he considered, that false reports oftentimes had had as good effects as true, especially in war: and he who only believed he was to be assisted, had been preserved just as much as if he had really had it, by his confidence, hope and boldness. In consequence the next day he told the ambassadors: 'That though he was
'afraid to weaken his forces by lending them to o-
'thers, yet he had more regard to their necessities
'and dangers than to his own. He had ordered no-
'tice to be given to a third part of the soldiers of all
'the cohorts to dress victuals to be put aboard the
'ships immediately. The fleet to transport them he
'had ordered to be ready in three days.' He sent two of the ambassadors to carry the news to Bilistages and the Ilergetes: but by presents and courteous usage kept the young prince with him. The ambassadors did not set out till they saw the soldiers put on board the ships, so that on their arrival at home they talked with assurance of a Roman aid approaching, and the rumor spread not only amongst their own people but the enemy's.

CHAP. XIII.

THE consul, having carried this pretended shew of aid as far as he thought sufficient, ordered the sol-

diers

diers to be landed again. He himſelf, when the ſea- CHAP.
ſon for action approached, quitted his winter quarters XIII.
and encamped within a mile of Emporiæ. From thence as occaſion offered he led out his ſoldiers, ſometimes one way and ſometimes another, to pillage the enemy's country, leaving a ſmall guard in the camp. They ſet out for the moſt part by night, that they might get at as great a diſtance as poſſible from their own camp and ſurprize the enemy. By this means he both exerciſed his new levied ſoldiers and alſo deſtroy'd great numbers of the enemy's, who durſt not now venture without their fortify'd caſtles. After he had ſufficiently tried the courage both of his own men, and of the enemy, he ordered the legionary tribunes, lieutenants, and all the knights and tribunes to be aſſembled, 'The time (ſaid he) which you have 'often wiſhed for is come. You now have an oppor-'tunity of ſhewing your valor. Hitherto you have 'made war more like robbers than regular troops; now 'you ſhall fight hand to hand with your enemies in 'a pitched battle. By this means you ſhall not only 'be rewarded with the pillage of their farms, but e-'ven rifle their wealthy cities. Our anceſtors at a 'time when the Carthaginians had both generals and 'armies in Spain, and they themſelves had neither, 'inſiſted to have this article inſerted in the treaty: 'That the river Ebro ſhould be the boundary of the 'two empires. Now when two prætors, a conſul 'and three Roman armies are in Spain, where no 'Carthaginian has been for near theſe ten years, we 'have loſt our dominions about that river. This you 'muſt recover by arms and valor, and compel a na-'tion, that knows better how to revolt with temerity, 'than to proſecute a war with conſtancy, again to 'receive the yoke it has thrown off.' Having animated them in this manner, he declared he would march by night to the camp of the enemy. In the mean time they were diſmiſſed to take refreſhment.

AFTER having taken the auſpices, he ſet out CHAP.
at midnight, to take the ground he ſhould like beſt XIV.

CHAP. XIV.

before the enemy ſhould perceive him. He took a compaſs till he came beyond the enemy's camp, and at break of day, having drawn up his army in battle array, detached three cohorts to the foot of their ramparts. The Barbarians, ſurprized to ſee the Romans behind their lines, run to arms. In the mean while the conſul called out to his men: 'Our only 'hope, fellow-ſoldiers, is in your valor, and I have 'taken care to leave you no other reſource. The e-'nemies are between our camp and us; behind us is 'an enemy's country. That which is moſt excellent is 'alſo ſafeſt; let us then place our hopes in valor.' Then he ordered the cohorts to retire, that he might draw out the Barbarians by a pretended flight. This accordingly happened. For believing the Romans retired through fear, they ſallied out at the gate, and occupied the whole ſpace between their camp and the conſul's army. Whilſt they were in motion to form themſelves, the conſul being ready, and his troops in order of battle, fell upon them before they could draw up in form. He made the cavalry advance firſt from both the wings. But that of the right being preſently repulſed and put to flight, put the infantry into ſome diſorder. The conſul perceiving this ordered two choſen cohorts to march round by the enemy's right flank, and ſhew themſelves in their rear, before the infantry ſhould engage. The terror this occaſioned in the Spaniards reinſtated the battle, which was almoſt loſt by the flight of the Roman cavalry. Still both horſe and foot of the right wing were in ſuch diſorder, that the conſul himſelf laid hold of ſome of them and obliged them to face the enemy. As long as they fought with miſſile weapons the battle was doubtful, and the Roman right wing, where the terror and flight began, made but a ſlight reſiſtance. On the left and in the front the Barbarians were puſhed, and looked back with fear on the cohorts that preſſed on their rear. As ſoon as they had thrown their darts and javelins, they drew their ſwords, and then the battle was renewed. They were not wounded by random

blow

blows from a diſtance and unexpectedly, but cloſing in with the enemy, placed all their hopes in ſtrength and intrepidity.

CHAP. XV.

THE conſul, by leading on to the attack the battalions which he had poſted in the ſecond line, revived the courage of his wearied troops. By this means the battle began again with new ardor, and the freſh men charging the wearied enemy with new darts, firſt penetrated them in the form of a wedge, then routed them and put them to flight. They run precipitately through the fields towards their camp. When Cato ſaw the rout was become general, he rode back to the ſecond legion that had been poſted as a reſerve; and ordered the enſigns to advance, and the troops to follow at full ſpeed to aſſault the enemy's lines. They advanced with ſo much caution, that if any ſoldier through avidity fell out of his rank, the general, who rode amongſt them, either ſtruck him with a ſmall dart, or ordered the tribunes and centurions to puniſh him. The enemy's lines had been already attacked, and the Romans repulſed with ſtones, ſtakes and all kinds of miſſile weapons. But a freſh legion advancing increaſed the courage of the aſſailants, and the enemies fought deſperately in defence of their ramparts. The conſul ſurvey'd every place, in order to force his way where the leaſt reſiſtance was made. He obſerved the left gate was weakly defended, and brought on the principes and haſtati of the ſecond legion, whoſe attack the guards poſted at that gate were not able to ſuſtain. The reſt, ſeeing the enemy within the trenches and their camp taken, threw down their enſigns and arms. A dreadful ſlaughter was made of them in the gates where they were ſtopped by the crowd. The ſecond legion ſlaughtered the enemy in the rear, and the reſt fell to plundering. According to Val. Antias above 40000 were ſlain that day: Cato himſelf, never ſparing of his own praiſe, ſays, 'that many were killed,' without mentioning the preciſe number.

CHAP. XVI.

THE conſul is thought that day to have performed three acts that merited the greateſt praiſe. Firſt he

CHAP. XVI.

he marched his troops beyond the enemy far from his navy and camp, where they had nothing to rely on but their valor, as the enemy was between him and his lines when he engaged. Secondly he detached two cohorts to ſhew themſelves on the enemy's rear during the action. Thirdly whilſt all the reſt were diſperſed in the purſuit, he kept the ſecond in order of battle with enſigns flying, and ordered them to advance to the gate of the camp very faſt. After this he made a ſpeedy improvement of his victory: for having ſounded a retreat and brought back his men to their camp loaded with plunder, he gave them a few hours reſt during the night, and then marched to pillage the country. As the enemies were diſperſed in the flight he extended his ravages very far. This, as much as the defeat of the preceding day, obliged the Spaniards of Emporiæ and the neighboring country to ſubmit. Many alſo belonging to other ſtates, who had taken refuge in Emporiæ, ſurrendered. He diſmiſſed them all after having ſpoken kindly to them and refreſhed them with victuals and drink. Immediately after he decamped; and wherever the army marched they were met by ambaſſadors from ſtates to ſurrender. By the time he reached Terraco all Spain on this ſide the Ebro ſubmitted, and the Barbarians made a preſent to the conſul of all the priſoners both Romans and Latin allies, that had been ſurprized in Spain by various chances. Then a report was ſpread that the conſul was about to lead his army into Turdetania; and that he would march againſt the wild mountaineers. Upon this falſe rumor, whoſe author was never found, ſeven fortreſſes belonging to the Bergiſtans revolted. Theſe the conſul marched againſt and reduced without much bloodſhed. Not long after they revolted again, upon the conſul's returning to Tarraco, and before he had ſet out thence on an new expedition. They were reduced a ſecond time but had not the ſame terms granted them; for they were all ſold for ſlaves, to prevent their diſturbing the peace of the province any more.

I

CHAP. XVII.

IN the mean time P. Manlius the prætor, having received the army of veterans from Q. Minucius to whom he had ſucceded, and having joined to it that of Ap. Claudius Nero from the Further Spain, marched into Turdetania. Of all the Spaniards the Turdetani are eſteemed the moſt cowardly. Nevertheleſs, truſting to their numbers, they ſet out to meet the Roman army. The cavalry, charging immediately, put their ranks in diſorder, and their infantry made very little reſiſtance. The veteran ſoldiers, acquainted with the enemies and their manner of fighting, eaſily obtained a complete victory. Nevertheleſs the war was not terminated by this battle. The Turdetani hired 10000 of the Celtiberians, and prepared for war with foreign troops. The conſul in the mean time embarraſſed with the rebellion of the Bergiſtans, and apprehending the reſt of the cities would follow their example if they had the ſame opportunity, diſarmed all the Spaniards on this ſide the Ebro. This warlike nation, who did not think life worth enjoying without arms, took this as ſo heinous an affront that many of them laid violent hands on themſelves. The conſul being informed of this ordered the ſenators of all the cities to be aſſembled, and told them, 'It is more for your intereſt than our's that you ſhould not rebel: For hitherto it has been attended with greater damage to the Spaniards, than trouble to the Roman army. The only means in my opinion to prevent this is to put it out of your power to take arms. My deſign is to effect this by the gentleſt methods. Do you likewiſe aſſiſt me with your advice in that matter. I'll follow none more willingly than what you yourſelves ſhall give me.' Seeing them remain ſilent, he added, 'he would grant them a few days to deliberate upon it.' As they made no reply in the ſecond aſſembly, after having demoliſhed all their walls in one day, he marched againſt thoſe that had not yet ſubmitted, and as ſoon as he came into any country, all the people in that neighborhood ſurren-

dered. Only Segeſtica [a] an important and rich city was beſieged in form.

CHAP. XVIII.

HE found greater difficulty in ſubduing the Spaniards, than thoſe who came firſt into Spain, as the inhabitants then uneaſy under the Carthaginian government revolted to them; but he had them, as it were, to reduce to ſlavery after having been long free. Nay he found all in ſuch commotion, that ſome were already in arms, others compelled to revolt from the Romans by being beſieged, and unable to hold out if they had not been ſeaſonably relieved. But the conſul was endued with ſuch a ſtrength of mind and capacity, that he undertook and managed all affairs, from the moſt important to the leaſt, of himſelf: He did not only meditate on what was neceſſary to be done, and give orders accordingly to his ſubaltern officers, but executed moſt of his projects in perſon: neither did he impoſe ſeverer or more fatiguing duty upon a ſingle man in his army, than upon himſelf; vying with the meaneſt of the ſoldiers in frugality, watchings and toils, and having nothing peculiar to himſelf in his army, except honor and command.

CHAP. XIX.

THE prætor P. Manlius had a more difficult war in Turdetania againſt the Celtiberians, whom the Turdetani had hired, as I have related above. Therefore the conſul on receiving letters from the prætor marched his legions thither immediately. On his arrival he found the Celtiberians and Turdetani encamped ſeparately. The Romans immediately began to ſkirmiſh with the Turdetani by attacking their poſts, and always came off victorious in the raſheſt attempts. Then the conſul ordered the legionary tribunes to go and confer with the Celtiberians and offer them three conditions. Firſt to come over to the Romans and receive double the pay they had agreed for from the Turdetani. Secondly to return to their own homes under ſecurity, that they ſhould ſuffer no prejudice for having joined themſelves to the enemies of the Romans. Thirdly if they were determined for war that they would appoint time and place for a deciſive action.

[a] Unknown.

action. The Celtiberians required time to deliberate on theſe offers: A council was held, but in a very tumultuous manner, for the Turdetani mingled with them, which prevented their coming to any reſolution. Though the Romans were yet uncertain whether they would have peace or war with the Celtiberians, yet they carried proviſions from the fields and fortreſſes of the enemies as in time of peace. Beſides during this tacit truce, they went often into their fortified towns. The conſul, not being able to bring the enemy to an engagement, advanced with ſome light cohorts with colors flying to pillage a country that had not hitherto felt the calamities of war. Afterwards hearing that all the Celtiberians baggage and effects were left at Seguntia, he marched to attack it. But perceiving nothing could move them, and having paid not only his own ſoldiers, but alſo thoſe of the prætor their arrears, he left all the army in the camp of the prætor except ſeven cohorts with which he return'd to the Ebro. CHAP. XIX.

WITH this ſmall force he took ſome towns. The Sedetani, Auſetani and Sueſſetani revolted to him. The Lacetani, a people whoſe country is full of rocks and woods, continued in arms not only from their natural ferocity; but alſo from a conſciouſneſs of having plundered their allies by ſudden inroads, whilſt the conſul and army were buſied in the Turdetanian war. Therefore the conſul ſet out to attack their city, not only with the Roman cohorts, but alſo the youth of the allies, who had reaſon to be enraged at them. Their town was extended in length, but not very broad. About 400 paces from it he halted. There leaving his choice cohorts with orders not to ſtir from the ſpot till he ſhould return, he led the reſt about to the further ſide of the town. Of all his auxiliaries the Veſcitan youth were the moſt numerous, and them he ordered to attack the wall. The Lacetani no ſooner perceived their arms and colors, than reflecting how often they had made incurſions into their lands with impunity, how often CHAP. XX.

ten defeated and put them to flight in pitched battles, they opened the gate of a ſudden, and fallied out in a body upon them. The Veſcitani ſcarce ſtood their ſhout, much leſs their charge. The conſul ſeeing every thing fall out as he had expected, put ſpurs to his horſe and rode up to his cohorts under the walls of the town: Then he led them in haſte into the town, where all was ſilent and abandoned, the inhabitants having diſperſed in purſuit of the Sueſſetani, nay was maſter of their whole city before they returned. So having nothing left but their arms they ſoon ſurrendered.

CHAP. XXI. THE conqueror immediately march'd to the fortreſs of Bergium [a]. That place was the chief retreat of the banditti of the province, who from thence made incurſions upon the lands of thoſe who were well affected to the Romans. The prince of the Bergiſtans came privately to the conſul; and began to make an apology for himſelf and his countrymen. He ſaid, 'The management of affairs was 'not in their hands: The banditti were ſupreme 'maſters, and had made it their retreat.' The conſul ordered him to return home, and aſſign ſome ſpecious reaſon for his abſence. That when he ſhould ſee him approach the walls, and the banditti intent upon defending them, he with the men of his faction ſhould take care to ſeize the citadel. The governor executed his orders exactly, and on a ſudden the Barbarians were ſeized with terror, ſeeing, that on one ſide the Romans ſcaled the walls, and on the other the citadel was taken. When the conſul was maſter of the place, he ordered thoſe who had ſeized the citadel to be ſet at liberty with their relations, and to be allowed to keep their own effects: The queſtor had commiſſion to expoſe the reſt of the Bergeſtans to ſale: And put the banditti to death. Thus he eſtabliſhed tranquillity in the province. Then he ſettled the revenues to be paid out of the iron, and ſilver mines, by which the wealth of the

[a] Now *Berga*, in *Catalonia*.

province

province daily increaſed. On account of theſe exploits in Spain the fathers decreed a ſolemn ſupplication for three days.

IN the ſame campaign the other conſul L. Valerius Flaccus fought a pitch'd battle in Gaul with an army of the Boians near the wood Litana, and came off victorious. 8000 Gauls are ſaid to have been ſlain, the reſt ſlipt away to their villages and fields. The conſul kept his army during the reſt of this campaign, about the Po at Placentia and Cremona, and repaired what had been demoliſhed in thoſe towns during the war. This was the ſtate of affairs in Italy and Spain. T. Quinctius had paſt the winter in Greece in ſuch manner, that, excepting the Etolians, who had neither got the rewards of the victory they hoped for, nor could remain long quiet, all Greece, enjoying at once the fruits of peace and liberty, were excedingly pleaſed with their condition; nor did they more admire the valor of the Roman general in war, than his temperance, juſtice and moderation in victory. In this ſituation Quinctius received the ſenate's decree declaring war againſt Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon. Upon reading it he ſummoned an aſſembly of deputies from all the allies to meet at Corinth on a fixed day. There was a numerous appearance of the chief men from all places, in ſo much that even the Etolians were preſent. To them he made the following ſpeech. CHAP. XXII.

'The unanimity and agreement of the Romans and Greeks in carrying on the war againſt Philip, was very great, and each had reaſons of their own to enter into it. For beſides, that he has both violated his alliance with the Romans, ſometimes by aſſiſting the Carthaginians their enemies, ſometimes by attacking their allies here; he behaved in ſuch manner towards you, that though we had forgot our own, the injuries you received would have been a ſufficient reaſon for us to take up arms againſt him. This day's deliberation regards only you. The queſtion is whether you will ſuffer Argos, which

CHAP. XXII.

'(as you yourſelves know) has been violently ſeiz-
'ed on by Nabis, to remain under his juriſdiction:
'Or if you think it reaſonable that a moſt noble and
'ancient city, ſituate in the heart of Greece, ſhould
'be reſtored to liberty, and put in the ſame condi-
'tion with the other cities of Peloponneſus and
'Greece. The preſent conſultation, you ſee, is
'wholly about a buſineſs that concerns you. It does
'not affect the Romans, except that the ſlavery of
'one city deprives them of the glory of having en-
'tirely delivered Greece. But if you can't be moved
'either by concern for that city; nor by the exam-
'ple or danger of this miſchievous contagion ſpread-
'ing further, we acquieſce. About this affair I aſk
'your advice, being reſolved to regulate my con-
'duct by what the majority ſhall determine.'

CHAP. XXIII.

AFTER this ſpeech of the Roman general, others began to give their opinions. The deputy from Athens, after returning thanks, extolled as much as poſſible the merits of the Romans towards Greece: When their aid was implor'd againſt Philip, they had come to their relief; now without being aſked they had offered aſſiſtance againſt the tyrant Nabis. Nay he expreſſed his indignation; that their great ſervices were found fault with in ſome perſon's ſpeeches, who reflected on futurities, when they ought rather to acknowledge paſt favors. This was a manifeſt reflection on the Ætolians. For that reaſon Alexander chief of that nation inveighed firſt againſt the Athenians, who from being formerly the zealous authors and promoters of liberty, now betrayed the common cauſe by their abject flattery. Then he complained, 'that the Achæans who had
'formerly been in the intereſts of Philip, but at laſt
'abandoned him in his declining fortune, had got
'Corinth and were endeavoring to have Argos too.
'But the Ætolians, the firſt enemies to Philip, and
'always faithful to the Romans, were defrauded of
'Echinus[a] and Pharſalus, which by expreſs ſtipu-

[a] A maritime city of *Phthiotis* in *Theſſaly*.

'lation

'lation ſhould have been yielded to them when re-
'taken from Philip.' He alſo accuſed the Romans of fraud, ſaying, 'under a ſpecious ſhew of liberty
'they kept gariſons in Chalcis and Demetrias: This
'is even done by them who were always wont to
'object to Philip, when he delayed to withdraw his
'gariſons from thence, that Greece would never
'be free while Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth were
'in his poſſeſſion. Laſtly, ſaid he, Let thoſe who
'make a handle of Argos and Nabis to remain in
'Greece and keep an army on foot there, tranſport
'their legions into Italy. The Ætolians engage that
'Nabis ſhall evacuate Argos either upon conditions
'and voluntarily; or the united power of Greece
'ſhall compel him by force of arms.'

THIS bravado rouſed Ariſtænus prætor of the Achæans, 'may Jupiter, the greateſt and beſt of
'beings, ſays he, and queen Juno the protectreſs of
'Argos, prevent that city from being placed as a
'prize between the Lacedæmonian tyrant, and the
'Ætolian banditti, and from being in greater dan-
'ger of being miſerable upon our recovering it, than
'it was in being taken by him. The interjacent ſea
'does not defend us from theſe pirates, T. Quincti-
'us. What will become of us if they build them-
'ſelves a citadel in the heart of Peloponneſus? They
'have nothing Grecian but their language, as they
'reſemble men only in ſhape. They are more ſa-
'vage in their manners and cuſtoms than any Bar-
'barians, yea, than the brute beaſts. Therefore we
'earneſtly beſeech you, Romans, to recover Argos
'from Nabis; and ſettle the affairs of Greece in ſuch
'a manner that you may leave this country ſuffici-
'ently ſecured againſt the robberies of the Ætolians.'
Whilſt all were inveighing againſt the Ætolians, the Roman declared, 'he would have replied to
'their calumnies, if he had not perceived them all
'ſo exaſperated with them, that they were rather to
'be appeaſed than irritated. Therefore ſatisfied as
'to the opinion they had of the Romans and Æto-
'lians,

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'lians, he deſired to know their ſentiments with re-
'gard to a war with Nabis, if he did not reſtore
'Argos to the Achæans!' All of them declaring for war, he exhorted each ſtate to ſend what auxiliaries they were able. He even ſent an ambaſſador to the Ætolians, but rather to diſcover their inclination (in which he ſucceeded) than in hopes of obtaining any aſſiſtance.

CHAP. XXV.

HE ordered the legionary tribunes to ſend for the army from Elatia. About the ſame time alſo he anſwered the ambaſſadors of Antiochus, who had come to negotiate a peace. That he had no power to conclude any thing in abſence of the ten Roman plenipotentiaries, and that they muſt go to the ſenate at Rome. Then he left Elatia, and with his troops advanced towards Argos. Near Cleonæ Ariſtænus prætor of Achæa join'd him with 10000 foot, and a 1000 horſe. Having united their forces they encamped not far from thence. The next day they entered into the country of the Argians, and encamped within four miles of Argos. Pythagoras, ſon-in-law to the tyrant, and brother to the queen, commanded the gariſon. Upon the approach of the Romans he reinforced the gariſons of both the citadels, (for Argos has two) and ſtrengthened other poſts, that were either thought convenient or ſuſpected to be weak. But whilſt he was thus employed, he could by no means conceal the dread he was ſeized with at the approach of the Romans. To the terror occaſioned by the army without their walls was ſuperadded an inteſtine ſedition. One Damocles, a young Argian of greater courage than prudence, firſt conferred with ſome proper perſons, whoſe ſecrecy he engaged by an oath, about expelling the gariſon. But his zeal to add ſtrength to the conſpiracy made him communicate the ſecret with too little precaution. An officer ſent by the governor coming to fetch him, as he was conferring with his people, he perceived his deſign was diſcovered; therefore he exhorted the conſpirators who were preſent

ſent to take arms along with them, rather than be put to death by tortures; and ſo he proceeded towards the market-place with a few followers: crying aloud, 'you who deſire the ſafety of the commonwealth 'follow me, the author and guide to liberty.' He made no impreſſion on any, becauſe they could ſee no probable hopes of a ſufficient ſupport. As he was thus crying out the Lacedæmonians ſurrounded him, and ſlew him and his accomplices. Afterwards ſome others were apprehended, the greateſt number of whom were put to death, and a few thrown into priſon. The next night many let themſelves down with ropes from the wall and fled to the Romans.

CHAP. XXVI.

UPON their affirming that if the Roman army had been at the gates, the commotion would not have been without effect; and that if the camp was moved nearer, the Argians would not lye quiet; Quinctius ſent light armed foot and horſe, who engaged at Cylarabis (a place of exerciſe within 300 paces of the town) with the Lacedæmonians who ſallied out of the city, and without much trouble drove them back into the town. Then the Roman general encamped in the very ſpot where the battle was fought. Here he ſpent a whole day watching for a new inſurrection. But when he perceived the city was overawed, he call'd a council of war to deliberate about laying ſiege to it. All the chiefs of Greece except Ariſtænus were of one mind, That ſince there was the ſource of the evil, there the war ſhould be begun. This was by no means agreeable to Quinctius; on the contrary he liſtened with great approbation to Ariſtænus's remonſtrances againſt their unanimous opinion, and added, 'Since the war has 'been undertaken to deliver the Argians from the 'tyrant, what can be more abſurd than to neglect 'him and beſiege Argos? For his own part he 'would attack the tyrant, and Lacedæmon the head 'of the war.' Having diſmiſſed the council of war he detached the light cohorts to forage. What corn was ripe in the neighborhood was reaped and conveyed

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veyed away. The unripe was trodden under foot and ſpoiled, that the enemies might not have it afterwards. Then he decamped, and having paſſed mount Parthenius [a], he encamped on the third day at Caryæ [b] beyond Tegea [c]. There he waited for the auxiliary forces of the allies before he entered the enemies country. Philip ſent 1500 Macedonian foot, and the Theſſalians 400 horſe. Nor was the Roman now ſtopt for want of auxiliary forces, of which great numbers arrived daily, but for proviſions which the neighboring towns had been charged with. He had likewiſe a great naval force; for L. Quinctius arrived from Leucæ with forty men of war. He was alſo joined by 18 Rhodian gallies: And king Eumenes was then about the Cyclades with ten deck'd ſhips, thirty barks, and a number of ſmaller veſſels. Likewiſe many Lacedæmonian exiles, who had been unjuſtly baniſhed by the tyrants, aſſembled in the Roman camp, in hopes of being reinſtated in their native country. Many had been baniſhed for ſome generations, from the time Lacedæmon was oppreſſed by the tyrants, ſome by one, ſome by another. Ageſipolis chief of the exiles was heir to the crown by the laws of the country, being baniſhed in his infancy after the death of Cleomenes by Lycurgus the firſt tyrant at Lacedæmon.

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THOUGH Nabis was encompaſſed with ſo great a force both by land and ſea, and ſcarce any hopes left, when he conſidered his own ſtrength and that of the enemies; yet he continued the war. He brought 1000 choice youth from Crete to join the 1000 Cretans he had already. He likewiſe raiſed 3000 mercenaries. He had 10000 of his countrymen and peaſants brought from all the towns in his dominions. Then he fortify'd the city with a foſſe and rampart. And to prevent inteſtine ſedition he overawed the citizens with fear of ſevere puniſhments. For he could not hope they would wiſh well to a

[a] It bordered upon *Arcadia* and *Argolis*. [b] In *Arcadia*. [c] Now the caſtle of *Mucbli* in *Arcadia*.

tyrant,

tyrant, and having a ſuſpicion of ſome, he drew out all his forces into the field which they call Dromos, and ordered the Lacedæmonians to aſſemble without their arms. Then he ſurrounded the aſſembly with armed guards. He told them in few words, 'That 'the preſent critical conjuncture would juſtify his 'fears, and taking all manner of precautions for his 'ſecurity: That it was their intereſt that thoſe whom 'the preſent ſtate of affairs rendered ſuſpected, ſhould 'rather be prevented from attempting any thing 'than puniſhed for it afterwards: Therefore he would 'detain ſome in cuſtody till the tempeſt which threat-'ened him was blown over. As ſoon as the ene-'mies ſhould be repulſed, (from whom there was 'the leſs to be feared, if inteſtine treachery were 'ſufficiently taken care of) he would immediately 'ſet them at liberty.' Upon this he ordered the names of near fourſcore young men of the principal nobility to be called over, and as each anſwered to his name he was put in priſon. The next night he put them all to death. After that ſome of the Ilotæ[a], (a race of peaſants who had long lived in the villages of Laconia) being accuſed of an intention to deſert, were ſcourged through all the ſtreets, and put to death. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the minds of the multitude, that they laid aſide all attempts of a revolution. Not thinking himſelf a match for his enemies in the field, nor daring to quit the city while the affections of the citizens were ſo uncertain and fluctuating, he ſhut himſelf up within the walls.

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QUINCTIUS having now got all things in readineſs, marched out of his entrenchments, and the

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[a] The *Ilotæ*, according to *Strabo*, came originally from a little country of *Laconia*. They preſerved their independence till the reign of *Agis* king of *Sparta*, who forced them to pay tribute to the *Lacedæmonians*. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the will of the conqueror, except the inhabitants of the city of *Helos*. Theſe revolted, and ran to arms, to ſhake off the yoke which was going to be impoſed upon them. But the *Lacedæmonians* were victorious; and the *Ilotæ* were puniſhed for their rebellion. They and their poſterity were condemned to perpetual ſlavery, and to labor in the fields, without hope of redemption. The race of them continued till *Auguſtus*'s reign, who at laſt reſtored them their liberty. And they then took the name of *Eleutheros-Lacones*, in memory of the recovery of their freedom.

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next day came to Sellaſia[a] upon the river Œnus[b]: In which place, it is ſaid, Antigonus king of Macedon fought a pitch'd battle with Cleomenes tyrant of Sparta. Being informed that the aſcent was difficult, and the paſs narrow, he marched round the mountains, and ſending detachments before to clear the ways, he came by a path that was ſufficiently open and wide to the river Eurotas[c], which waſhes the walls of the city. Here the tyrant's auxiliary forces charged the Romans that were pitching their tents, and Quinctius himſelf who had gone before with the cavalry and light arm'd ſoldiers, and, as they expected nothing leſs, put them into fear and diſorder: For they had met no body during their whole march, and had paſſed though the country with as little moleſtation as if it had been at peace. For ſome time they were in great conſternation, the foot calling for the cavalry, and the cavalry for the foot, for neither body had the leaſt confidence in themſelves. At length the enſigns of the legions appeared; and when the cohorts of the van-guard were brought on to the charge, thoſe who a little before had ſtruck terror were in their turn driven back into the town in great conſternation. The Romans, having retired without reach of darts from the wall, halted a while in order of battle. But as none of the enemies came out againſt them, they returned to their camp. The next day Quinctius continued his march in battalia by the city, along the river on one ſide, and the foot of mount Menelaius[d] on the other. The legionary cohorts compoſed the van, and the light armed troops ſupported by the cavalry, brought up the rear. Nabis had his mercenary ſoldiers, in whom he placed all his confidence, under arms, and ready drawn up within the city to attack the enemy's rear. As ſoon as it had paſſed they ſallied out from ſeveral places

[a] An inland town of *Laconia*, famous for the defeat of *Cleomenes*, the third of that name, and laſt king of *Sparta*.

[b] It watered *Laconia*.

[c] Riſes near mount *Stymphalos*, croſſes *Laconia*, and falls into the *Laconic* gulph.

[d] A mountain in *Arcadia*.

at

at once with as much tumult as they had done the day before. Ap. Claudius brought up the rear: Having before-hand prepared the minds of his ſoldiers againſt ſuch a ſudden attack, he immediately turned his enſigns, and cauſed the whole army to face the enemy. The battle was fought as in a plain, and was pretty vigorous for ſome time. At length Nabis's troops gave way, and would have made an orderly and ſafe retreat, had not the Achæans, who were acquainted with the ground, purſued them. Theſe made a great ſlaughter, and diſarmed moſt of them that were diſperſed in the flight. Quinctius encamped near Amyclæ[e]. From thence having ravaged all the fine pleaſant country round the city, and none of the enemies now venturing without the gate, he moved his camp to the river Eurotas. Then he ruined the valley at the bottom of mount Taygetus[f], and the fields near the ſea. CHAP. XXVIII.

ABOUT the ſame time L. Quinctius made himſelf maſter of the towns on the ſea coaſt, ſome voluntarily ſubmitted, others through fear or force. Afterwards being informed that the city Gythium[a] was the arſenal of the Lacedæmonians; and that the Roman camp was near the ſea, he reſolved to attack it with all his forces. It was at that time a ſtrong and populous city; and furniſhed with all kinds of warlike ſtores. King Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet arrived very ſeaſonably to aſſiſt Quinctius in this difficult enterprize. A number of ſeamen and marines detached from the three fleets, in a few days finiſhed all the works neceſſary for the ſiege of a town that was fortified both by ſea and land. Pioneers had already advanced under their tortoiſes, and undermined the wall, which was alſo ſhattered with battering rams. Repeated ſhocks overturned our turret, which in it's fall drew along with it part of the wall. The Romans at the ſame time made an attack on the gate where the way was level, in order CHAP. XXIX.

[e] On the eaſt bank of the *Eurotas*, and famous for the birth of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*.

[f] Now *Maina*, near the ſea.

[a] Now the village of *Palæopoli*.

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to draw the enemy from the breach made in the wall, which they likewiſe attacked. And they had very near entered where they intended. They only drew off from the aſſault by being made to hope the place would ſurrender. But theſe hopes were quickly deſtroyed. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas were joint governors of the town. Dexagoridas ſent a trumpet to the Roman general to capitulate, but after they had agreed on the time and conditions, this traitor was kill'd by Gorgopas: who alone defended the town more vigorouſly. Nay it would have proved a difficult enterprize if T. Quinctius had not come up with 4000 of his beſt troops. He appearing with this detachment drawn up in order of battle, from the brow of a hill near the city; and on the other ſide L. Quinctius plying it vigorouſly with his works by ſea and land; Gorgopas was compelled through deſpair to take the ſame reſolution which he had puniſhed with death in his collegue. He capitulated on condition that the gariſon ſhould be allowed to march away, and Quinctius was put in poſſeſſion of the city. Before this capitulation Pythagoras had left the command of the gariſon of Argos to one Timocrates a Pellenian, and marched to Nabis at Lacedæmon with 1000 mercenaries, and 2000 Argives.

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AS Nabis had been terrified at the firſt approach of the Roman army, and the giving up of the maritime towns; ſo he was buoyed up with ſome hopes by the defence his forces made at Gythium. But when he heard it alſo was ſurrendered to the Romans, having no hopes by land, all the places about him being in the power of the enemy, and being entirely ſecluded from the ſea; he thought proper to yield to his fate, and firſt ſent a trumpet to the camp, to try if they would permit ambaſſadors to be ſent to them. Having obtained this, Pythagoras came to the Roman general, with no other inſtructions, than to deſire a conference between Quinctius and Nabis. A council of war being called, and all agreeing

agreeing that it ſhould be granted, the time and place were appointed. They met at ſome eminences in the middle of the country, each eſcorted by ſmall detachments, and there leaving the cohorts within view, Nabis advanced with ſome choſen body guards, and Quinctius attended by his brother, king Eumenes, Soſilaus the Rhodian, Ariſtænus prætor of the Achæans, and a few legionary tribunes.

THERE, the tyrant being allowed his choice of ſpeaking firſt or laſt, he thus began, 'If I could 'of myſelf, Quinctius and you who are here pre- 'ſent, have diſcovered the reaſon why you declared 'war, and have actually committed hoſtilities againſt 'me, I ſhould have waited patiently for the deci- 'ſion of my fate. But, as the caſe ſtands, I could 'not refrain myſelf from deſiring to know, before I 'periſh, the reaſon why I am to be ruin'd: And tru- 'ly, if, as is reported of the Carthaginians, you had 'no regard to the faith of treaties, I ſhould not 'wonder that you had little concern for what you 'do againſt me. But now when I behold you, I 'perceive you are Romans, who pay a religious re- 'gard to the ſanctity of treaties, and the faith of 'human ties: when I conſider myſelf, I hope I am 'the perſon, with whom you are engaged in a moſt 'ancient league in common with the reſt of the La- 'cedæmonians, and with myſelf in particular you 'entered into amity and friendſhip, which was late- 'ly renewed in the war with Philip. But you'll ſay, 'I have broken and rendered it void by taking the 'city of Argos. How ſhall I defend this; by con- 'ſidering the action itſelf, or the time when per- 'formed? The action affords me a twofold defence. 'For I did not ſeize on that town by force, but re- 'ceived it upon the invitation of the inhabitants, 'who delivered it up to me: nay, I received it when 'it was on the ſide of Philip, and not in league 'with you. The time alſo acquits me, becauſe you 'entered into a league with me, when I was actu- CHAP. XXXI.

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'ally in poſſeſſion of Argos, and you only ſtipulated, 'that I ſhould ſend auxiliaries to the war, and not 'that I ſhould withdraw my gariſon from that town. 'Thus truly I have the advantage in the contro- 'verſy concerning Argos; both from the equity of 'the thing, as it was not yours, but an enemy's 'town, and I got poſſeſſion of it by conſent of 'the inhabitants, not by force of arms; and alſo by 'your own confeſſions, when in the articles of the 'treaty you relinquiſhed Argos to me. But ſtill the 'name and actions of a tyrant are ſtrongly urged 'againſt me: I have proclamed liberty to ſlaves, 'and divided the land among the poor. As to the 'name, I may anſwer, that whatever you may think 'me, I am the ſame perſon I was, when you your- 'ſelf, Quinctius, made a league with me. At that 'time, I remember you ſtiled me king; now, I 'find, I am called a tyrant. Therefore if I had 'changed my imperial titles, I might have been 'blamed for my levity; but when you do it, you 'ought to give a reaſon for it. As touching the 'multitude's being increaſed by ſetting the ſlaves at 'liberty, and dividing the lands amongſt the poor; 'I can even in this vindicate myſelf by the right I 'had at that time. I had done theſe things, what- 'ever they are, before you entered into league with 'me, and received aſſiſtance from me in the war a- 'gainſt Philip. Had I done them now, I thereby 'might have injured you, and violated the treaty 'of alliance between us: but what I did was agree- 'able to the cuſtoms and manners of my anceſtors. 'Do not meaſure thoſe things which are done at 'Lacedæmon by your laws and inſtitutions. There's 'no neceſſity of comparing every thing. You chooſe 'knights and commons according to the value of 'their eſtates; and will have a few to excel in 'riches, and the common people to be in ſubjection 'to them: our lawgiver did not deſign the power 'ſhould be in the hands of a few, whom you call 'the ſenate; or that one rank in the ſtate ſhould

'excel

'excel another; but was of opinion, that by an e-
'quality of fortune and rank, there would be many
'to bear arms for their native country. I confeſs
'I have made a longer ſpeech than ſuits with the
'Laconic ſtile of my country, when I might have
'in a few words, affirmed that I have done nothing
'ſince my entering into alliance with you, which
'can reaſonably give you offence.'

TO this the Roman general anſwered. 'We CHAP.
'entered not into friendſhip and alliance with you, XXXII.
'but with Pelops the juſt and lawful king of Spar-
'ta. His right was alſo uſurped by the tyrants,
'who afterwards held the government of Lacedæ-
'mon by force, whilſt we were engaged in the Car-
'thaginian, Gaulic and other wars, one on the neck
'of another; as you likewiſe did in our war with
'Macedonia. For what could be more abſurd
'than for us who were carrying on a war againſt
'Philip, for the liberty of Greece, to enter into
'friendſhip with a tyrant, a tyrant, the moſt oppreſ-
'ſive and cruel towards his ſubjects, of all that ever
'exiſted? But though you had neither taken nor
'held Argos by treachery, yet it was incumbent on
'us, who were ſetting all Greece at liberty, to re-
'inſtate the ancient liberties and laws of Sparta, of
'which you have juſt now made mention as a rival
'of Lycurgus. Should we take care to have Phi-
'lip's gariſons withdrawn from Jaſſos and Bargyliæ,
'and leave Argos and Lacedæmon, two moſt fa-
'mous cities, formerly the eyes of Greece, under thy
'oppreſſive yoke, their ſlavery might tarniſh our title
'of deliverers of Greece. Indeed the Argives took
'part with Philip. We yield up this point to you,
'leſt you be angry on our behalf. We have ſuffici-
'ently diſcovered, that the blame of that affair lyes
'at the door of two or three perſons at moſt, and
'not on the whole city; as well as, that in ſending
'for you and your gariſon, and receiving them in-
'to the citadel, nothing was done by public advice.
'The Theſſalians, Phocenſes and Locrenſes, we
'know all join'd unanimouſly with Philip. Since

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'we have ſet at liberty the reſt of Greece, what 'ſhall we do, think you, for the Argives whoſe 'ſtate had no ſhare in theſe meaſures? You, ſaid 'the proclaming liberty to the ſlaves, and dividing 'the lands amongſt the poor were objected to you 'as crimes: and indeed they are no ſmall ones. 'But what are theſe things when compared with 'the villainies committed by you and yours daily, 'one on the back of another! Suffer a free aſſem-'bly either at Argos or Lacedæmon, if you de-'light to hear the real crimes of a moſt outragious 'domination. To paſs over all other former acts 'of tyranny, what a ſlaughter did Pythagoras, your 'ſon-in-law, commit at Argos almoſt in my view; 'what did you yourſelf perpetrate, when I was al-'moſt within the territories of Lacedæmon? Come 'then, command thoſe priſoners to be brought forth, 'whom you ſeized in the aſſembly, and in the hear-'ing of all your citizens declared you would keep 'them in cuſtody: that their wretched parents may 'know they are alive, and that their tears are with-'out cauſe. But granting theſe things, you'll ſay, 'what concern have we Romans with them? Dare 'you talk ſo to the deliverers of Greece? To thoſe 'that croſſed the ſeas, and carried on a war by ſea 'and land, that they might ſet it at liberty? Yet 'further you'll affirm, you have not properly injur'd 'us, nor violated our friendſhip and alliance. How 'often will you have me prove you have? But 'without uſing many words, I ſhall mention the 'chief things briefly. By what means then is our 'alliance diſſolved? By two ways in particular; 'you uſe our allies as enemies; and join with our 'enemies. Can you deny either of theſe? When 'our ally you took, by force of arms, Meſſene a 'town in alliance with us, and comprehended in the 'ſame league that Lacedæmon was. You have not 'only entered into ſociety with Philip our enemy, 'but (if it pleaſe the Gods) into affinity alſo, by 'means of Philocles his general; making war upon

'us,

'us, you have infeſted the ſea about Malea with 'privateers; and taken and kill'd more Roman ci-'tizens almoſt than Philip: nay the coaſt of Ma-'cedonia is ſafer than cape Malea, for the ſhips 'that carry'd proviſions to our armies. Ceaſe then 'to boaſt of the faith and rights of alliance, and 'laying aſide your popular harangues: ſpeak like 'what you really are, a tyrant and an enemy.'

AFTER this Ariſtænus adviſed, nay, ſome- CHAP. times implored Nabis, whilſt it was in his power, XXXIII. whilſt occaſion offered, to have regard to himſelf and his fortunes. Then he related by name, the tyrants of the neighboring ſtates, that, reſigning the government and reſtoring liberty to their people, paſſed not only a ſafe, but honorable, old age amongſt their fellow citizens. After theſe ſpeeches on both ſides, night approaching put an end to the confe-rence. Next day Nabis declared he would quit Ar-gos, and withdraw his gariſon, ſince the Romans would have it ſo: and reſtore the captives and de-ſerters. If they had any other demands he required them to be put in writing, that he might deliberate upon them with his friends. Thus the tyrant had time allowed him for conſultation. Quinctius alſo held a council of war, to which he admitted the chiefs of the allies. The greateſt part were of opini-on, 'that the war ought to be continued, and 'the tyrant demoliſhed, for otherwiſe the liberty of 'Greece would never be ſecure. It had been much 'better not to have declared war againſt him, than 'lay it aſide now it was begun. Even he would be 'more firmly eſtabliſhed in his domination, which 'would be hereby approved: He would ſay the 'Roman people had confirmed his tyranny, and his 'example would excite many in the other ſtates to 'plot againſt the liberties of their fellow citizens.' The general himſelf was rather inclined to peace, for he ſaw nothing remained but a tedious ſiege when the enemies were forced within their walls, 'It is 'not Gythium, ſaid he, (which yet was yielded by

'capitu-

CHAP. XXXIII.

'capitulation, not taken by force) but Lacedæmon, '(a city very powerful both in men and artillery) 'we have to beſiege. Our ſole hopes were, that a 'diſagreement or ſedition would happen amongſt 'the townſmen upon the approach of our army. 'But nobody has ſtirr'd even when they ſaw, as it 'were, our enſigns carried in at their gates.' He added likewiſe the uncertainty of peace with Antiochus. 'Villius, our ambaſſador, who has return-'ed from thence, reports, that he has paſſed over 'into Europe with more numerous forces by land 'and ſea than formerly. If our army ſhould be 'employed in the ſiege of Lacedæmon, with what 'other forces could we oppoſe ſo potent and mighty 'a king?' This he openly declared: but his private motive was leſt the province of Greece ſhould fall to the lot of the new conſul, and his ſucceſſor have the honor of finiſhing a war he had begun.

CHAP. XXXIV.

PERCEIVING his arguments made no impreſſion on the allies, he pretended to come into their ſentiments, and by that means brought them all to aſſent to his ſcheme. 'May the Gods proſper 'our enterprize! ſays he; let us lay ſiege to Lace-'dæmon, ſince it is your deſire. But as you all know 'the beſieging towns is tedious, and often ſooner 'wearies out the beſiegers than the beſieged; ye 'ought now to ponder this well, that you are to 'paſs the winter round the walls of Lacedæmon. If 'this delay had nothing but toil and danger in it, I 'ſhould exhort you, to be in readineſs to ſuſtain 'them both in minds and bodies: but it will put 'us to great expence alſo in engines, and machines, 'neceſſary for attacking ſo great a town; and in 'getting proviſions ready for the winter both for 'yourſelves and us. Therefore that you may not 'be alarmed of a ſudden, or ſhamefully quit the en-'terprize after you have begun it, I am of opinion 'you ought to write to your ſtates, and endeavor to 'find out the inclinations and ſtrength of each. Aux-'iliaries I have ſufficient and to ſpare: but the more

'numerous

'numerous we are, we shall stand in need of more 'necessaries. The enemies country has now nothing 'left but the bare ground: Besides the winter ap- 'proaches, in which it is difficult to bring things 'from a great distance.' This discourse first turned all their minds to consider every one's domestic evils, the laziness, envy, and ill will of those that remain'd at home, towards these that were in the field; and liberty, that hindered persons from agreeing; the public poverty, and the ill will that would be occasioned by raising contributions out of private fortunes. Their minds took a sudden turn, and they left the general at freedom to do what he thought would be most to the advantage of the Roman people and their allies. CHAP. XXXIV.

THEN Quinctius in concert only with the lieutenants and legionary tribunes, drew up in writing the articles of the peace to be made with the tyrant. 'There shall be a six months truce between Nabis, 'the Romans, king Eumenes, and the Rhodians. 'T. Quinctius and Nabis shall immediately dispatch 'ambassadors to Rome to get the peace ratify'd by 'the authority of the senate. The truce shall com- 'mence the same day on which the written articles 'of peace shall be notified to Nabis: within ten days 'after, the garisons shall be withdrawn from Argos, 'and the rest of the towns in that country: they 'shall be delivered empty and free to the Romans: 'no slave either belonging to the king, the public, 'or to private persons, shall be brought away, and if 'any have been already, they shall be restored to 'their masters according to justice: he shall restore 'the ships he has taken from the maritime towns: 'and keep none himself, except two gallies, not car- 'rying above sixteen oars. He shall return the fugi- 'tive slaves and captives to all the cities in alliance 'with the Romans, and to the Messenians every 'thing of theirs that can be found, or their ma- 'sters own. He shall restore to the Lacedæmoni- 'an exiles, their children and wives that are willing 'to follow their husbands; but none of them CHAP. XXXV.

'shall

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'shall be compelled to follow an exile againſt her 'will. To the mercenary ſoldiers of Nabis, that 'have gone over either to their own cities or to the 'Romans, all their effects ſhall be reſtored according 'to juſtice. Nabis ſhall hold no town in the iſland of 'Crete; thoſe he had formerly he ſhall deliver up to 'the Romans. He ſhall neither make alliance nor 'war with any of the Cretan ſtates, or any other. He 'ſhall evacuate all the cities to be reſtored, and which 'had put themſelves under the protection of the Ro-'mans; and he and his people commit no hoſtilities 'againſt them. He ſhall build no town, nor caſtle, 'either in his own territories or thoſe of others. For 'the performance of theſe things he ſhall give five 'hoſtages, ſuch as the Roman general ſhould chuſe, 'but his ſon ſhould be one, and pay down one hun-'dred talents of ſilver, with fifty talents annually for 'eight years to come.'

CHAP. XXXVI.

THESE articles being drawn up in writing were ſent to Lacedæmon, and the camp moved nearer to the city. The tyrant was pleaſed with all of them, except that, contrary to his expectation, no mention was made of ſending back the exiles. But what vexed him moſt of all was, that his ſhips and maritime towns were to be taken from him. For the ſea had been of great advantage to him, by his infeſting all the coaſt from Malea by his piracies. Beſides he found the youth of thoſe cities by far the beſt ſoldiers for recruiting his army. Theſe conditions, though he himſelf had deliberated upon them in ſecret with his friends, yet were in all men's mouths; the king's officers being as incapable of keeping ſecrets, as of all other fidelity. They were not ſo much blamed in general, as individuals carped at thoſe, which concerned themſelves. Thoſe that had the wives of the exiles in marriage, or poſſeſſed any part of their eſtates, were excedingly enraged, as if they had been to loſe part of their own property inſtead of returning what belonged to others. The ſlaves that had been ſet at liberty by the tyrant, ſaw plainly, that not only their freedom would be loſt,

but

but a more terrible ſlavery would be their lot, when they returned into the power of their angry maſters. The mercenary ſoldiers alſo took it ill that their pay was to ceaſe by the peace, and becauſe they ſaw there would be no returning to their cities, which were not more inraged againſt tyrants than againſt thoſe that ſerved under them.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THEY firſt murmured at thoſe things in their private meetings, and then of a ſudden ran to arms. When the tyrant perceived the multitude ſufficiently irritated by this tumult, he order'd an aſſembly to be called. Having laid before them the conditions impoſed by the Romans, and falſely added ſome more grievous and ſhameful, and a ſhout being made at every one of them, ſometimes by the whole aſſembly and ſometimes by a few, he only aſked them, 'what 'anſwer they would have him return, or what he 'ſhould do?' They unanimouſly cry'd out, 'give 'him no anſwer, but purſue the war.' Every one for his own part, as it is uſual with the multitude, bade him be of good courage, and very confident, for fortune favored the brave. The tyrant, excited by theſe words, declared that both Antiochus and the Ætolians would aſſiſt him; and that he had forces ſufficient to ſuſtain a ſiege. No farther mention was made of peace, and they ran to their poſts intending not to lye quiet any longer. The ſally of a few ſkirmiſhers, and the darts they threw, immediately convinced the Romans they were to expect nothing but war. Light ſkirmiſhes happened for the firſt four days without any advantage to either. The fifth day the Lacedæmonians having come almoſt to a pitched battle, were driven into the town in ſuch fear, that ſome Roman ſoldiers following cloſe on their heels, entered pellmell through the openings of the wall as they then were.

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QUINCTIUS having hereby ſufficiently reſtrained the ſallies of the enemy, and believing nothing remained but to attack the town itſelf, ſent for all his ſailors and marines from Gythium, and in the mean

CHAP. XXXVIII.

mean time with the legionary tribunes rode round the walls, to view the ſituation of the town. Formerly Sparta had no walls. The tyrants lately had raiſed a wall in the open and plain places; but they defended thoſe that were higher and difficult of acceſs, by poſting guards there. After he had ſufficiently viewed every poſt, being of opinion that it muſt be inveſted all round, he invironed it with all his forces, which including Romans and allies, as well horſe as foot, land forces as marines, amounted to 50000 men. Some carry'd ladders, ſome fire, ſome other things, which were not only to beſiege but to cauſe terror. They were ordered on raiſing a ſhout to approach on every ſide, that the Lacedæmonians, being terrify'd on all ſides at once, might not know where firſt to make reſiſtance or bring ſupport. The flower of the army was formed into three diviſions: He ordered one to make an attack at Phæbeum, another at Dictynnæum, and the third at that place which they call Heptagoniæ, all open places without walls. While the beſieged were ſo alarmed on every ſide, the tyrant at firſt moved by the ſudden outcries and fearful meſſages, either went in perſon or ſent ſome others to the relief of the poſts in moſt danger. Afterwards, the terror ſpreading to all places, he was quite thunder ſtruck, and could neither give orders or hear any thing to the purpoſe, nor was he only deſtitute of counſel, but even deprived of his ſenſes.

CHAP. XXXIX.

THE Lacedæmonians at firſt ſuſtained the impetuoſity of the Romans in the narrow lanes; and three armies were fighting at one time in different places. Afterwards the action grew warmer, and the fight was by no means equal. The Lacedæmonians fought with darts, from which the Roman ſoldiers very eaſily defended themſelves, both by the largeneſs of their bucklers, and becauſe ſome miſſed their aim and others had but little force; for, by the narrowneſs of the ſtreets and thickneſs of the crowd, they not only had no room to take a run when they threw, which adds much to the force of darts, but

not

not ſo much as free and firm footing. In conſequence none of their darts ſtuck in the enemies bodies, and but few in their ſhields. However ſome were wounded by them that ſtood on the tops of the houſes; for as they advanced, they not only met a ſhower of darts but alſo of tiles which they little expected. Then lifting their ſhields above their heads, and joining them in ſuch a manner to one another, that there was no room left not only for random darts from afar, but not even for thoſe at hand, they formed a tortoiſe, under which they approached. At firſt they were ſtopt a while by the crowds both of their own people and the enemy in the narrow paſſes; but after they had puſhed them into the wider ſtreets, their impetuous charge could be no longer ſuſtained. While the Lacedæmonians turned their backs, and were running in confuſion towards the higher grounds, Nabis, trembling as if the town had been quite loſt, was looking about for a way to eſcape. But Pythagoras, as on all other occaſions he had manifeſted the courage and diſcharged the duty of an able general, ſo now was the only cauſe why the town was not taken. For he had commanded to ſet the houſes next the wall on fire. In a moment they were in a blaze, becauſe all, who at other times are wont to lend their aid to extinguiſh, now fed the flame. There the houſes begun to fall upon the Romans, and not only broken tiles, but alſo burning rafters reached the ſoldiers, and the flame ſpread far and near, the ſmoke cauſing even greater terror than danger. Therefore ſuch of the Romans as were without the town being then in the heat of their aſſault, retired from the wall; and thoſe who had already entered, leſt the fire ſhould get behind them and cut them off from their companions, retreated. When Quinctius perceived what the matter was, he ordered a retreat to be ſounded. Thus were they obliged to retire to their camp, when they were on the point of becoming maſters of the city. CHAP. XXXIX.

QUINCTIUS, conceiving better hopes from the enemy's fears than from an attack, alarmed them for CHAP. XL.

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for the next three days, ſometimes by provoking them to fight, and ſometimes by throwing up works to prevent all means of eſcape. Theſe menaces obliged the tyrant to ſend Pythagoras to beg peace. Quinctius at firſt received him with ſcorn and ordered him to quit the camp; but afterwards upon his humble entreaties and falling down at his feet, he at length gave him a hearing. At firſt he offered to ſubmit implicitly to the Romans; but that availing nothing, the matter was at length brought to this iſſue, that the conditions given him a few days before in writing ſhould be granted. So a truce was concluded and the money and hoſtages delivered up directly. While the tyrant was beſieged, meſſenger after meſſenger arrived at Argos with accounts that Lacedæmon was on the point of being taken. Upon this the Argians, encouraged likewiſe by Pythagoras having gone away with the beſt part of the gariſon, and deſpiſing the few that were left behind under the command of Archippus, drove them out. They ſent out Timocrates of Pellene under an eſcorte, becauſe he had ruled with clemency. During this joy Quinctius having granted peace to the tyrant, diſmiſſed Eumenes and the Rhodians from Lacedæmon, and ſent his brother to the fleet.

CHAP. XLI.

THE city in the height of their rejoicings proclamed the moſt famous of their feſtivals, the Næmean games, againſt the coming of the Roman army and general, which had been poſtponed at the ſtated time, on account of the war; and they appointed the general himſelf preſident of them. They had many cauſes of joy at once. Their citizens whom Pythagoras had carried away lately, and Nabis formerly to Lacedæmon, were now brought back. Thoſe alſo returned who had eſcaped after the conſpiracy diſcovered by Pythagoras, and the ſlaughter began by him. And they had the pleaſure of ſeeing their liberty reſtored after a long interval, and the authors of it, the Romans, who had undertaken the war on their account. The liberty of the Argians was likewiſe pro-

proclamed on the ſame day with the Næmean games by an herald. The Achæans were excedingly rejoiced at the reſtoring of Argos to their body; but the leaving Lacedæmon in ſlavery, and the tyrant as a thorn in their ſides, made their joy incomplete. But the Ætolians railed at that affair in all their diets; ſaying, 'Peace had not been granted Philip till he 'had evacuated all the cities of Greece. But Lace-'dæmon was left to the tyrant, while it's lawful king 'was in the Roman camp, and while the reſt of it's 'noble citizens lived in exile; the Roman people 'made themſelves his guards to ſupport his tyran-'ny.' Quinctius brought back his forces from Argos to Elatia, from whence he had marched to the Spartan war. There are ſome who ſay that the tyrant did not make war by ſallying from the city, but that he pitched his camp over-againſt that of the Romans; and that having waited a long time in expectation of the Ætolian auxiliaries, he was at laſt forced to come to a battle by the Romans falling on his foragers, and that being defeated and ſtript of his camp he ſued for peace, after having had 15000 men ſlain and above 4000 taken priſoners. CHAP. XLI.

ALMOST at the ſame time letters arrived both from T. Quinctius with an account of what was done at Lacedæmon, and from M. Porcius the conſul in Spain. The ſenate decreed a ſupplication for three days in name of them both. Q. Valerius the conſul, having had a quiet province after the defeat of the Boii at the wood of Litana, returned to Rome to preſide at the election of magiſtrates. P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus for the ſecond time, and T. Sempronius Longus were elected conſuls. Their fathers had been conſuls the firſt year of the ſecond Carthaginian war. Then P. Cornelius Scipio, the two Cn. Cornelii, Merenda and Blaſio, Cn. Domitius, Ænobarbus, Sex. Digitius, and T. Juventius Thalna, were choſen prætors. The elections being over the conſul returned to his province. The Ferentines attempted this year to obtain a new privilege, that the CHAP. XLII.

Latins who had enrolled themſelves in the Roman colonies ſhould be Roman citizens. The new planters, who had been ſent to Puteoli, Salernum and Buxentum, behaving on that account as if they had been Roman citizens, the ſenate adjudged, that they were not entitled to that privilege.

CHAP. XLIII.

P. Corn. Africanus and Ti. Sempr. Longus, conſuls, Y. of R. 578. B. J. C. 194.

IN the beginning of the year, in which P. Cor. Scipio for the ſecond time, and Ti. Sempronius Longus were conſuls, two ambaſſadors came to Rome from the tyrant Nabis. They had an audience of the ſenate without the city in the temple of Apollo. They demanded that the peace which had been concluded with T. Quinctius might be ratified. Their demand was granted. When the affair of the provinces was laid before the ſenate, many were of opinion, that ſince the war was ended in Spain and Macedonia, both conſuls ſhould have Italy for their province. Scipio thought one conſul enough for Italy, and that Macedonia ſhould be allotted to the other. 'A 'grievous war, ſaid he, with Antiochus is impend- 'ing. He has already of his own accord come into 'Europe. What ſtep do you think he will take next? 'Do not on one ſide the Ætolians our moſt invete- 'rate enemies invite him, and on the other Hanni- 'bal, a general famous for defeating the Romans, 'ſpirit him on to war?' Whilſt they were diſputing about the conſular provinces the prætors drew lots for theirs. The juriſdiction over citizens fell to Domitius, and that over foreigners to T. Juventius; Further Spain to P. Cornelius; and Hither to Digitius; Blaſio had Sicily, and Merenda, Sardinia. It was not thought proper to tranſport a new army into Macedonia; but that the army which was there ſhould be brought back to Italy by T. Quinctius, and diſbanded, together with that army which was in Spain under M. Porcius Cato. That both conſuls ſhould have Italy for their province, and levy two city legions, that after the other armies were diſbanded, agreeable to the order of ſenate, there ſhould remain in all eight Roman legions.

A SACRED ſpring had been celebrated the former year in the conſulate of M. Porcius and L. Valerius. P. Licinius the pontifex maximus having reported to the college of prieſts firſt, and then by their authority to the ſenate, that it had not been performed regularly, they voted that it ſhould be done anew by the direction of the prieſts; and that the great games which had been vowed together with it ſhould be performed with the uſual expence; that all cattle ſhould be accounted ſacred which were brought forth between the firſt day of March and laſt of April in the conſulate of P. Cornelius Scipio and Ti. Sempronius Longus. Then aſſemblies were held for the election of cenſors. Sex. Ælius Pætus and C. Cornelius Cethegus being choſen, they named P. Scipio the conſul preſident of the ſenate, as the former cenſors had done. They degraded only three ſenators, none of which had born any curule office. They likewiſe obtained great favor amongſt the nobility, by ordering the curule ædiles to ſeparate the places of the ſenators from thoſe of the people at the Roman games, for before they ſat at them promiſcuouſly. A few of the knights alſo had their horſes taken from them, and no ſeverity was inflicted on any of the orders. The hall of Liberty and the public villa were repaired and enlarged. The ſacred ſpring and the games, which Servius Sulpicius Galba had vowed, were performed. Whilſt all men's minds were taken up with this ſpectacle, Q. Pleminius, who, on account of many crimes committed at Locri againſt Gods and men, had been caſt into priſon, had procured men to ſet the city on fire by night in many places at once; that in the conſternation and confuſion the priſon might be broke open. That affair was diſcovered by his accomplices, and laid before the ſenate. Pleminius was let down into the lower priſon, and there put to death. CHAP. XLIV.

THAT year colonies of Roman citizens were ſettled at Puteoli, Vulturnum, and Liternum, three hundred men to each: alſo at Salernum and Buxentum. CHAP. XLV.

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tum. The commiſſioners, who carried them there, were T. Sempronius Longus, who was then conſul, M. Servilius and Q. Minucius Thermus. They divided amongſt them the land which had belonged to the Campanians. In like manner a colony of Roman citizens was ſettled at Sipontum, in the lands which had belonged to the Arpians, by D. Junius Brutus, M. Bæbius Tamphilus, and M. Helvius. Alſo at Tempſa and Croton, the Tempſan lands were conquered from the Bruttians, who had expelled the Greeks, but the latter were in poſſeſſion of Croton. Cn. Octavius, L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Pletorius ſettled that of Croton, and L. Cornelius Merula, and Cn. Salonius that of Tempſa. There were likewiſe ſome prodigies ſeen at Rome this year, and others reported. In the market place, the town hall, and capitol there were drops of blood ſeen; it ſometimes rained earth; the head of Vulcan's ſtatue took fire: it was reported that a ſtream of milk had flowed at Interamna; that children of good families were brought forth at Ariminum without eyes or noſes; and in the territories of Picenum one without hands and feet. Theſe prodigies were expiated by ſacrifices, by order of the chief prieſts, and a ſacrifice of nine days was appointed, becauſe the Adrians had reported, it had rained ſtones in their country.

CHAP. XLVI.

IN Gaul L. Valerius Flaccus, the pro-conſul, fought a pitched battle near Milan with the Inſubrian Gauls and the Boii, who, under the conduct of Dorulacus, had paſſed the Po, to ſtir up the Inſubrians. 10000 of the enemy were ſlain. About the ſame time M. Porcius Cato his collegue triumphed for Spain. He carried in that triumph 25000 pound of bullion, 123000 denarii and 40000 of ſilver from the mines of Hueſca, with 1400 pound weight of gold. Out of the ſpoils he gave each foot ſoldier 270 aſſes of braſs, and to a horſeman three times as much. T. Sempronius the conſul, having ſet out for his province, led his legions at firſt into the country of the Boii. Bojorix, at that time their prince, with his two brothers,

brothers, having ſtirred up the whole nation to rebellion, pitched his camp in advantageous poſts, that it might appear they would fight if the enemy entered their territories. The conſul, perceiving the great force and confidence of the enemy, ſent a meſſage to his collegue, deſiring him, if he thought proper, to haſte to his aid, and he would ſpin out the time till his arrival. The ſame reaſon the conſul had for avoiding an action, made the Gauls haſten (beſides that the delay raiſed their courage) before the conſular armies joined, to bring on a deciſive action. Nevertheleſs for two days they did nothing, but ſtood ready to fight if any of the Romans would come out againſt them. On the third they approached to force their trenches, and attacked the camp on all ſides at once. The conſul immediately ordered his men to arms. After they were armed he kept them ſome time in their poſts, both that he might encreaſe the fooliſh boldneſs of the enemy, and alſo place his own men in order, before the gates at which they were to ſally. The two legions were commanded to march out at the principal gates. But the Gauls oppoſed them in ſuch crowds in the narrow paſſes, that they ſtopt up the way. They fought a long time in the narrow paſſes, neither did they attack ſword in hand, but preſſed both with ſhields and bodies by main force: the Romans that they might make their way out; the Gauls that they might either break into the camp, or hinder the Romans from ſallying. Neither could the armies be moved either on the one ſide or the other, till Q. Victorius firſt centurion of the ſecond legion, and C. Atinius a military tribune of the fourth, taking the colors from the enſign bearers, threw them among their enemies, an expedient that had been often tried in fierce encounters. By exerting their utmoſt to recover the colors, the ſecond legion made it's way firſt out at the gate.

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AND now theſe were fighting without the rampart, and the fourth legion ſticking in the gate, when another tumult aroſe from the oppoſite part of the

CHAP. XLVII.

CHAP. XLVII. camp. The Gauls had broke in at the Queſtorian gate; and killed L. Poſthumius Tympanus the queſtor, M. Atinius, and P. Sempronius captains of the allies, and almoſt 200 ſoldiers who made an obſtinate reſiſtance. The camp had been taken on that ſide, had not a choſen Latin cohort, ſent by the conſul to defend the Queſtorian gate, killed part of thoſe that had broken in, drove the reſt out of the camp, and withſtood them that were breaking in. Almoſt at the ſame time the fourth legion alſo forced it's way out with two extraordinary cohorts. So there were three battles at once round the camp in different places. The diſſonant cries, and their uncertainty about the fate of their companions, drew off the attention of the ſoldiers from the place where they themſelves were engaged. The fight continued till noon with equal force and almoſt equal hopes. But the fatigue and heat obliged the Gauls (who have effeminate bodies, ſweat much, and can by no means bear thirſt) to retire. Upon this the Romans charged the few that remained, and drove them in confuſion to their camp. Then the conſul ſounded a retreat; on which the moſt part retired: but ſome continued before the rampart through deſire of fighting, and in hopes of gaining the enemy's camp. The Gauls, deſpiſing their ſmall number, ruſhed out all together, and put them to flight; ſo they, who would not return to their camp at the command of the conſul, were forced to it through fear and terror. Thus the victory and flight were various, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on another. Yet there were about 11000 of the Gauls killed and 5000 of the Romans. The Gauls retreated into the innermoſt part of their country.

CHAP. XLVIII. THE conſul marched his legions to Placentia. Some write that Scipio, having joined his collegue, went to ravage the country of the Boii and the Ligurians, as far as the woods and marſhes would permit: others that he returned to Rome on account of the elections, without performing any remarkable exploit. This ſame year T. Quinctius ſpent the whole winter at

at Elatia, where he had put his forces into winter quarters, in making wiſe regulations, and reforming the cuſtoms introduced into the cities by the licentiouſneſs of Philip or his prefects, when by encreaſing the power of the men of his own faction, he diminiſhed the rights and liberties of others. Early in the ſpring he came to Corinth, where he had appointed a general diet. There he harangued the ambaſſadors of all the ſtates who formed a circle round him. He began with the firſt alliance between the Romans and Greeks, and a detail of his own and the exploits of the generals that had been before him in Macedonia. All was heard with the greateſt approbation till he came to mention Nabis. 'They ſaid, his conduct in 'that reſpect was not becoming the deliverer of 'Greece. He had ſtill left a tyrant, not only op- 'preſſive to his own country, but terrible to all the 'ſtates around him, and who prey'd upon the vitals 'of a moſt noble city.

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'QUINCTIUS was not ignorant of their 'ſentiments. He confeſſed, that if it could have been 'done without the ruin of Lacedæmon, no mention 'of peace with the tyrant ſhould have been liſtened 'to. But ſince he could not be deſtroy'd otherwiſe 'than by the moſt grievous deſolation of the city, 'it ſeemed better to leave the tyrant weakened, and 'deprived of almoſt his whole power to do harm, 'than ſuffer the city to be taken by worſe remedies 'than it could bear; for it would have periſhed in 'the act of recovering it's liberty.' After he had put them in mind of things paſſed; he added, 'that he 'was to return to Italy, with his whole army. They 'would hear of the gariſons of Demetrias and Chal- 'cis being withdrawn within ten days: that he would 'evacuate the citadel of Corinth and deliver it to the 'Achæans in their ſight: that all might know whe- 'ther it was the cuſtom of the Romans or Ætolians 'to lie. The latter had ſpread reports that their li- 'berty was unhappily truſted in the hands of the 'Roman people, and that they had only changed

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'masters; for the Romans had taken the Macedo-
'nian's place. But he had never regarded either
'what they did or said. He advised the rest of the
'states to judge of their friends by facts not words;
'to consider to whom they ought to give credit, and
'against whom they ought to be on their guard;
'to make a moderate use of their liberty: While
'kept within proper bounds it was salutary both to
'private persons and states: but if abused to excess,
'was both troublesom to others, and use-less and
'dangerous to them that enjoy it. The chief men
'and subjects in each city should study concord a-
'mongst themselves, and all the cities in common.
'Concord would secure them against kings and ty-
'rants. Discord and sedition expose states to a prey
'to those who conspire against their liberty, when
'the party which is weakest in a domestic quarrel,
'will rather call in the aid of foreigners than submit
'to their fellow citizens. Be careful then to pre-
'serve and maintain your liberty purchased by fo-
'reign arms, and restored to you by the faith of
'strangers; that the people of Rome may know
'they had given liberty to those that are worthy of
'it, and have not misplaced their benefits, but had
'fixed on a proper object of their munificence.'

CHAP. L.

THIS speech, which seemed to flow from paternal affection, drew tears of joy from their eyes, insomuch that they disturbed him in his harangue. For a while nothing was heard but murmurs of applause, and they exhorted one another, to regard and remember the advice as the dictates of an oracle. Then silence being made, he demanded, that if they had any Roman captives in slavery, they would find them out, and within two months send them to him to Thessaly. 'For it was dishonorable even to them-
'selves, that in a country set at liberty, it's deli-
'verers should be slaves.' They all cried out, that they returned him thanks, amongst other things, even for putting them in mind of so pious and necessary a duty. Hannibal had sold a vast number of pri-

soners

ſoners in the Carthaginian war, whom their country had not ranſomed. As a proof of their multitude, Polybius ſays, that that affair coſt the Achæans a 100 talents; they having ordered 500 deniers a head to be paid to the maſters of thoſe they redeemed; At that rate Achaia ranſomed 1200. Reckon now by this proportion how many it is probable there were in all Greece. Before the diet broke up they perceived the gariſon marching out of the citadel of Corinth towards the gate, and going quite away. The general followed, while with the loudeſt acclamations all ſaluted him their preſerver and deliverer. Then taking leave of them, and diſmiſſing them, he returned to Elatia the ſame way by which he came. From thence he detached Ap. Claudius his lieutenant with all the forces, commanding him to march through Theſſaly and Epirus to Oricum, and there wait for him, for from thence he intended to tranſport his army into Italy. He wrote alſo to L. Quinctius his brother, lieutenant and admiral of the fleet, to gather tranſports from all the coaſts of Greece to the ſame place. CHAP. L.

HE himſelf marched to Chalcis, and not only evacuated that city, but alſo Oreos and Eretria, and held a diet of the Eubœan ſtates. After putting them in mind of the condition in which he found them, and in what ſtate he left them, he diſmiſſed it. From thence he went to Demetrias, and having withdrawn the gariſon, he was accompanied by all the people, as he had been at Corinth and Chalcis. He continued his rout to Theſſaly: The cities of this country were not only to be ſet at liberty, but alſo put under certain regulations, as their policy was a mixture of the laws of different people, who had ſettled among them; for they were not only diſturbed by the vices of the times, and the violence and licentiouſneſs of the kings troops, but alſo by the reſtleſs temper of the people; having neither elections, nor aſſemblies, nor any council, not even in ſeditions and tumults, from the very beginning even CHAP. LI.

until

until our times. He choſe a ſenate and judges from among thoſe of greateſt fortunes, and entruſted the chief power, with thoſe whoſe intereſt it was to ſee all things in ſafety and tranquillity.

CHAP. LII.

THUS having travelled over Theſſaly, he croſſed Epirus to Oricum, from whence he tranſported his army to Brundiſium. His march through Italy to Rome was one continued triumph, driving before them as great a company of captives and booty as equalled their own number. On his arrival at Rome, the ſenate aſſembled without the city to hear the detail of his atchievements, and a triumph, which he had merited, was cheerfully decreed him. His triumph continued three days. The firſt day he carried the arms of all ſorts with the ſtatues of braſs and marble: More of theſe had been taken from Philip, than got from the ſtates of Greece. The ſecond day, the gold and ſilver in ſpecie and in bars: 18000 pound weight of ſilver bars [a], and 270 of coin: alſo many ſilver vaſes of curious workmanſhip, and beautifully chaſed, with multitudes of braſs veſſels of a fine make, and ten ſilver ſhields: of ſilver money 84000 attic tetradrachmæ [b], each weighing but three denarii, 3714 pound weight of gold [c], one ſhield of maſſy gold, and 14514 gold philippus's [d]. The third day, the golden crowns preſented him by the cities in number 114. Then the victims which were to be ſacrificed; and before the chariot went many noble priſoners, and hoſtages, amongſt whom was Demetrius ſon of king Philip, and Armenes ſon of the Spartan tyrant Nabis. After them came Quinctius himſelf. The ſoldiers followed the chariot in great numbers; for the whole army had been brought back from the province. He diſtributed to every foot ſoldier 250 aſſes of braſs, and twice as much to a centurion, and thrice to a knight. Thoſe who had been redeemed from ſlavery, following with their heads ſhaven, added to the ſplendor of the triumph.

[a] 540001. [b] 8116 l. 13 s. 4 d. [c] 177600 l. [d] 13123 l. 1 s. 6 d.

ABOUT

ABOUT the end of this year Q. Ælius Tubero tribune of the people, by an order of the ſenate propoſed to the commons, and the commons decreed, that two colonies of Latins ſhould be ſettled, one in Bruttium the other in the country of the Thurini. For that purpoſe a commiſſion for three years was granted to Q. Navius, M. Minucius Rufus, M. Furius Craſſipes, for Bruttium; and to Cn. Manlius, P. Ælius and L. Apuſtius, for Thurium. The comitia in which they were choſen were held by Cn. Domitius the city prætor in the capitol. Some temples were dedicated that year: one to Juno Soſpita in the herb market; it had been vow'd, and the foundation of it lay'd four years before by the conſul C. Cornelius in the Gaulic war. The ſame man dedicated it in his cenſorſhip. The other temple was to Faunus. The ædiles, C. Scribonius, and Cn. Domitius had agreed with undertakers two years before to build it, and paid the expence of it out of the money ariſing by fines. The latter dedicated it when he was city prætor. Q. Marcius Ralla dedicated a temple to Fortuna Primigenia upon the Quirinal hill, being appointed duumvir for that purpoſe. P. Sempronius Sophus had vowed it ten years before, in the Carthaginian war: The ſame perſon had taken order for the building it whilſt he was cenſor. C. Servilius alſo dedicated a temple to Jupiter on the iſland of Tyber. It had been vowed ſix years before by L. Furius Purpureo the prætor in time of the Gaulic war, and built by him afterwards when conſul. Theſe things were tranſacted that year. CHAP. LIII.

P. SCIPIO returned from the province of Gaul to chuſe conſuls. L. Cornelius Merula, and Q. Minucius Thermus were elected. The next day L. Corn. Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Meſſala, L. Porcius Licinus, and C. Flaminius were choſen prætors. C. Atilius Serranus, and L. Scribonius Libo curule ædiles firſt exhibited ſtage plays in honor of Cybele. The ſenators beheld for the firſt time the Roman plays of thoſe ædiles in a place ſeparated from the people, which afforded matter CHAP. LIV.

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matter of ſpeculation, (as all novelty does) ſome affirming, 'that the higheſt order had at laſt by favor 'of the cenſors attained to a mark of diſtinction, 'which they ought to have had long before.' Others looked upon 'whatever was added to the majeſty 'of the fathers as a diminution of the dignity of the 'people, and that all ſuch diſtinctions, by which 'orders of men were ſeparated, equally tended to 'the ruin of concord and liberty. That all ranks 'had ſat promiſcuouſly at the plays till the 558th 'year of the city. What ſudden incident had induced the fathers not to ſuffer the common people to mingle with them in the pit! That it was 'a new and haughty diſtinction never before deſired, nor appointed, by the ſenate of any nation.' Laſtly it is ſaid that Africanus himſelf repented of having moved that affair in his conſulate, ſo far were our anceſtors from aboliſhing any ancient cuſtom, unleſs it appeared by experience to be inconvenient.

CHAP. LV.

L. Cornelius, and Q. Minucius, conſuls. Y. of R. 559. B. J. C. 193.

IN the beginning of the year in which L. Corn. and Q. Minucius were conſuls, ſo many earthquakes were reported, that men were wearied not only of the thing itſelf, but alſo of the holy days appointed on that account. For the conſuls were ſo taken up with ſacrifices and expiations, that a ſtop was put to the ſenate's aſſembling and to all public buſineſs. At laſt the decemvirs being ordered to inſpect the Sybilline books, upon their report a ſolemn ſupplication was made for three days. They made ſupplications in all the temples with garlands on their heads, and an edict was iſſued out that all who were of one family ſhould go in proceſſion together. In like manner the conſuls ordained by authority of the ſenate, that on what day a holy day was appointed on the reports of an earthquake no perſon ſhould make report of another the ſame day. Then the conſuls and prætors drew lots for their provinces. Cornelius got Gaul and Minucius Liguria. C. Scribonius got the juriſdiction of citizens, Valerius that of foreigners; L. Cornelius, Sicily; L. Porcius, Sardinia; C. Flaminius

Flaminius the Hither, and M. Fulvius the Further Spain.

CHAP. LVI.

WHEN the conſuls expected no war this year, letters arrived from M. Cincius, governor of Piſa, with advice, 'that all the petty ſtates of Liguria 'having entered into a conſpiracy, 20000 of them 'had firſt pillaged the country of Luna, and then 'entering the confines of Piſa had overrun all the 'ſea coaſt.' For this reaſon the conſul Minucius, who had the Ligurians for his province, mounted the roſtra by authority of the fathers; and commanded 'the city legions that had been levied the year 'before to rendezvous at Aretium in ten days; and 'he would leave two legions to ſupply their place.' In like manner he commanded the allies, the magiſtrates of the Latins, and the ambaſſadors of thoſe ſtates who were bound to furniſh troops to come to him in the capitol. He ordered them to ſend 15000 foot and 500 horſe, according to the number of each of their youth; and from the capitol to go to the gates, quit the city directly, and return home to haſten the levies. Fulvius and Flaminius had 3000 Roman foot and 100 horſe for a recruit, with 5000 Latin foot, and 200 horſe each, with orders to diſband the old ſoldiers when they came into their province. The ſoldiers of the city legions went in crowds to the plebeian tribunes, begging they would excuſe thoſe who had either ſerved the legal number of campaigns, or were ſick. But letters from T. Sempronius put an end to thoſe tumults. Their contents were, 'that 15000 Ligurians had entered the territo-'ries of Placentia, and laid them waſte with fire and 'ſword, even to the very walls of the colony, and 'banks of the Po; and that the Boii were likewiſe 'on the point of rebelling.' On theſe accounts the ſenate decreed that it was a time of tumult, and that the tribunes of the commons ſhould not ſuſtain the excuſes of thoſe who deſired to be exempt, or hinder them from aſſembling according to the edict. They likewiſe added, that the Latin allies who had

ſerved under P. Cornelius and Sempronius, and had been diſmiſſed by theſe conſuls, ſhould meet in Hetruria, at ſuch time and place as L. Cornelius the conſul ſhould appoint: and that on his rout to his province he ſhould levy, arm and carry along with him what ſoldiers he thought fit out of the towns and countries through which he was to paſs: and gave him a power of diſmiſſing any of them, and at what time he pleaſed.

CHAP. LVII.

AFTER the conſuls had completed the levies, and were ſet out for their provinces, T. Quinctius demanded that the ſenate would take into conſideration the regulations he had made, with advice of the council of ten; and if they thought proper, confirm them by their authority. To enable them to form a diſtinct idea of them it would be proper to hear the ambaſſadors that were come out of all Greece and great part of Aſia, and alſo from the kings. Accordingly they were introduced to the ſenate by C. Scribonius the city prætor; and a favorable anſwer given to them all. The diſpute with Antiochus being of more length, ſome of the ten ambaſſadors, who had been in Aſia or at Lyſimachia with the king, were appointed to hear it. Quinctius was ordered to be preſent at the audience of the king's deputies, and to return them ſuch anſwer as might ſuit the dignity and intereſt of the Roman people. Menippus and Hegeſianax were at the head of the embaſſy. Menippus ſaid, 'I know 'of no intricacy or difficulty in our propoſal. It is a 'plain one; we are come to demand and conclude 'an alliance. There are three kinds of leagues, by 'which princes and ſtates enter into alliance with one 'another. One when laws are preſcribed to the con-'quered; for when all things are yielded to the con-'queror, he has a right to determine what part of 'them he will permit the vanquiſhed to enjoy, and 'what he will deprive them of. A ſecond, when e-'quals in war conclude a peace and amity upon an e-'qual footing; for in that caſe plenipotentiaries may 'regulate their mutual clames, and if the poſſeſſion of

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'any thing had been disturbed by the war, it might be settled again, either agreeable to ancient right, or the convenience of the contending parties. A third kind was, when those who had never been enemies meet to conclude an alliance and friendship with one another. These neither give nor receive terms, a case peculiar to conquerors and conquered. Now Antiochus is upon the last footing, and is surprized how the Romans come to assume a right to prescribe laws to him; to direct what cities of Asia he should set free, and from what he should exact tribute; to forbid him and his garisons to enter such cities as they think proper. You might have prescribed such terms of peace to Philip an enemy, but must not so make a league of amity with Antiochus a friend.' CHAP. LVII.

TO this Quinctius answered, 'Since you are pleased to discourse methodically, and to enumerate the several ways of making an alliance; I also will lay down two conditions, without which you may let your master know, he cannot be admitted into friendship with the Romans. One is, that if he would not have us concern ourselves about the Asiatic states, he himself should keep out of any part of Europe. The other, that if he cannot contain himself within the limits of Asia, but will invade Europe; he shall consent the Romans shall both protect the Asiatic states with whom they are in amity already; and contract new alliances there.' CHAP. LVIII.

Hegesianax reply'd, 'Unheard of and intolerable injustice! Shall Antiochus be dispossessed of the towns of Thrace and Chersonesus; which Seleucus his great grandfather, after having vanquished and killed Lysimachus, had acquired in the most honorable manner and transmitted to him in right of succession: With equal honor Antiochus himself had recovered some part of them by arms when they were possessed by the Thracians; and had peopled them when they were desolate, as Lysimachia, which he rebuilt at a vast charge out of the

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CHAP. XLVIII.

'ruins occaſioned by it's being ſacked. There was a 'wide difference between ſpoiling Antiochus of poſ- 'ſeſſions thus acquired and recovered, and requiring 'the Romans not to meddle with Aſia, which had 'never been theirs. Antiochus indeed deſired an al- 'liance with Rome, but upon honorable not diſgrace- 'ful conditions.' To this Flamininus made anſwer, 'Since in this affair we are to conſider what is glori- 'ous (as indeed it ought to be the firſt, if not the 'ſole motive to a people the moſt conſiderable of any 'in the world, and to ſo great a king) tell me, which 'is moſt glorious, to deſire the liberty of all the 'Greek cities whereſoever they are, or to deſire to 'keep them under tribute and ſlavery? If Antiochus 'judges it for his glory, again to reduce to ſlavery 'the powers which his anceſtors conquered in war, 'but which neither his father nor his grandfather e- 'ver poſſeſſed; the Roman people think it becom- 'ing their honor and ſteadineſs not to deſert the 'Greeks, whoſe patronage they have undertaken, 'and as they have delivered Greece from the domi- 'nation of Philip, ſo they now intend to ſet at li- 'berty the Greek cities in Aſia. Colonies were not 'ſent into Æolis and Ionia to be held in ſlavery by 'kings, but to propagate the race of the Greeks, and 'ſpread that ancient nation over the world.'

CHAP. LIX.

UPON this Hegeſianax was confounded, and could not deny, but the Roman plea for liberty was more honorable than that of Antiochus for ſlavery. Then P. Sulpicius, the eldeſt of the ten ambaſſadors, 'ſaid, 'Lay aſide wrangling; chuſe one of the two 'conditions, which have now been diſtinctly pro- 'poſed by Quinctius; or talk no more of an alli- 'ance.' 'Truly, ſays Menippus, we neither can nor 'will agree to any thing that tends to the diminution 'of our maſter's dominions.' The next day Quinc- tius having introduced all the ambaſſadors of Greece and Aſia, that they might know how dif- ferently the Romans and Antiochus ſtood affected towards their ſtates, he reported what had paſſed between

between him and Antiochus's deputies, and desired they might tell their respective states, 'that the Romans would defend their liberties against Antiochus, if he did not withdraw from Europe, with the 'same valor and fidelity with which they defended it 'against Philip.' Then Menippus begged that Quinctius and the fathers 'would not be forward to pass 'a decree which must involve the whole world in 'a war: that they would first take time themselves, 'and allow the king time to consider: He would 'consider of it when the conditions were notified to 'him, and perhaps obtain some mitigation of them, 'or make some concession for the sake of peace.' Upon this the matter was deferred, and it was thought proper to send the same ambassadors to the king, who had been with him at Lysimachia; P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius. CHAP. LIX.

SCARCE had they set out, when ambassadors arrived from Carthage with accounts, that Antiochus was certainly preparing for war, and that Hannibal excited him to it. This also made them afraid lest a war with Carthage should break out at the same time. Hannibal, as was said before, flying from his native country, had gone to the Syrian, who heaped marks of honor upon him for no other reason, but that having for a long time been meditating a war with the Romans, he looked upon him as the ablest counsellor he could have in such an affair. His opinion was always one and the same, that the war should be carried into Italy. 'That country, said he, 'will afford both provisions and recruits to a foreign 'enemy. If no diversion be made there, and the 'Romans be at liberty to employ their strength and 'forces in a war without the limits of Italy; no king, 'no nation will be a match for them. Give me 100 'ships of war, 10000 foot and 1000 horse. With 'that fleet I will first sail for Africa: I still entertain 'hopes of being able to induce the Carthaginians 'to renew hostilities. But if they should hesitate, I 'will rekindle a war against the Romans in some part CHAP. LX.

'of Italy. Do you, O king, paſs into Europe with 'all the reſt of your forces, and keep them in ſome 'part of Greece: not with a deſign to tranſport them 'to Italy, but in readineſs to do ſo; the very ſhew 'and report of which will be ſufficient to ſupport 'the war.'

CHAP. LXI. HAVING brought the king into this opinion, and believing he ought to ſound his own countrymen, he was afraid to write letters, leſt, being intercepted by ſome chance or other, they might diſcover his deſigns. Finding one Ariſto a Tyrian at Epheſus, and having experience of his dexterity in ſervices of leſs moment, he loaded him partly with preſents and partly with hopes of rewards, to which the king added his promiſes, and ſent him to Carthage with inſtructions to his friends. He told him the names of thoſe whom he muſt confer with, and gave him private tokens, by which they would undoubtedly know them to be his commiſſions. This Ariſto appearing publickly at Carthage, the enemies of Hannibal got intelligence of his buſineſs, as ſoon as his friends. The affair was firſt canvaſſed in public converſation and at entertainments, and afterwards in the ſenate ſome affirmed, 'that the baniſh-'ment of Hannibal was to no purpoſe, if in his ab-'ſence likewiſe he could attempt changes, and by 'ſoliciting the minds of men diſturb the peace of the 'ſtate. One Ariſto, a ſtranger from Tyre, had come 'with inſtructions from Hannibal and king Antio-'chus: and certain perſons had private conferences 'with him every day. What was talked of in pri-'vate would quickly break out to the ruin of them 'all.' Upon this they loudly inſiſted, 'that A-'riſto ought to be cited before them, and examined 'about his buſineſs at Carthage; and unleſs he made 'a full diſcovery be ſent to Rome with the ambaſ-'dors. They had already ſuffered ſufficiently for the 'raſhneſs of Hannibal. Private perſons might offend 'at their peril; but the commonwealth ſhould be 'preſerved not only without guilt, but even the re-

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'port of it.' Accordingly Ariſto was called. He maintained his innocence, and urged this powerful argument, that he had not brought letters to any perſon. But he gave no ſatisfactory anſwer of the cauſe of his coming, and heſitated moſt, when they accuſed him of converſing only with men of the Barcinian faction. Then a debate aroſe, ſome being for ſeizing and impriſoning him as a ſpy; while others repreſented that this would occaſion a tumult. It was a bad precedent to take up ſtrangers without evidence againſt them. That Tyre and other trading cities, to which they frequently reſorted, would make repriſals on the Carthaginians. So the affair was ſuſpended during that day. Ariſto making uſe of Carthaginian policy even amongſt Carthaginians, in the duſk of the evening affixed a writing in the public hall above the bench where the magiſtrates daily ſat, and embarking about the third watch, made his eſcape. Next morning when the judges were ſet to adminiſter juſtice, the writing was ſpy'd, taken down and read. It's contents were, 'Ariſto had no in-'ſtructions to private perſons, but to the ſeniors,' (for ſo they called the ſenate.) As their whole body was accuſed, it made them leſs intent in enquiring after particular perſons. Yet they thought fit to ſend ambaſſadors to Rome, to lay the affair before the conſuls and ſenate: and at the ſame time, to complain of the injuries done them by Maſiniſſa. CHAP. LXI.

MASINISSA perceiving, that the Carthaginians were both become infamous, and at variance amongſt themſelves, the great men being ſuſpected by the ſenate for their conferences with Ariſto, and the ſenate by the people on account of the writing left by him, took advantage of this opportunity and pillaged their ſea coaſts, compelling certain cities, tributary to the Carthaginians, to pay tribute to him. That country is called Emporiæ. It lyes on the coaſt of the leſſer Syrtis, and in a fertile country. Leptis is one of it's towns, which yielded a tribute of a talent a day to the Carthaginians. Maſiniſſa, at that CHAP. XLII.

CHAP. XLII.

time, had not only infeſted all this country, but even diſputed the right of poſſeſſion of ſome part of it, whether it belonged to his kingdom or to Carthage. And knowing they had ſent a deputation to Rome both to vindicate themſelves, and make complaints of him; he diſpatched ambaſſadors thither to enhance the ſuſpicions entertained of them, and diſpute his right to the tributary places he had ſeized. The Carthaginians had the firſt audience about the ſtranger from Tyre. Their ſpeech made the fathers anxious, leſt they ſhould have a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians at the ſame time. It raiſed a great ſuſpicion of their guilt, that they had neither detained the perſon nor his ſhip, whom they had voted to be apprehended and ſent to Rome. Then they begun to diſpute about the lands in queſtion with Maſiniſſa's ambaſſadors. The Carthaginians urged 'they were within the bounds ſet them by P. Scipio 'after his victory. And Maſiniſſa, by aſking leave to 'paſs through it in purſuit of the rebel Aphires, who 'was ſtrolling about Cyrenæ with part of the Numidians, had acknowledged the Carthaginians title 'to it.' The Numidians accuſed them 'of aſſerting 'an untruth with regard to the limits ſet them by 'Scipio. If the origin of their rights were narrowly enquired into, what title could the Carthaginians have to any lands in Africa? They were 'ſtrangers, who by entreaty had obtained as much 'ground to build a city upon as they could compaſs 'with an ox's hide. Whatever they poſſeſſed beyond 'Byrſa, their proper ſeat, they acquired by force and 'injuſtice. As to the territories in queſtion, they 'could not prove, that they had always continued 'in the poſſeſſion of them from the time they firſt 'conquered them, much leſs for any conſiderable 'time together. Sometimes they, and ſometimes 'the kings of Numidia, had ſeized them as occaſion 'offered: and whichever of them was conqueror in 'war had always had the poſſeſſion of them. They 'therefore begged the Romans to let the affair re-

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CHAP. LXII.

'main on the ſame footing as it was before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans, and 'the king of Numidia their friend and ally; and 'not to interpoſe their authority for hindring either 'party from holding it that could.' It was thought proper to anſwer the ambaſſadors of both parties, that they would ſend commiſſioners into Africa to determine the controverſy between the Carthaginians and the king on the ſpot. Accordingly they ſent P. Scipio Africanus, C. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Minucius Rufus, who having heard the debates, examined into the affair, and left all things as they were without giving ſentence in favor of either party. Now whether they did this of their own accord, or by order of the ſenate, is not ſo certain, as it is, that they regulated their conduct by the ſituation of their affairs; otherwiſe Scipio alone, either by his knowledge of the affair, or his authority, having deſerved ſo well of both parties, could have ended the diſpute by a nod.

BOOK XXXV.

P. Scipio Africanus, ambaſſador to Antiochus, has a conference at Epheſus with Hannibal, who had joined himſelf to the Syrian, in order, if poſſible, to free him from that dread he entertained of the Roman people. Amongſt other things he aſks him, whom he thought the greateſt general? He anſwers, Alexander of Macedon, becauſe with a handful of men he had defeated very numerous armies, and over-run the remoteſt parts of the world, which was beyond the hopes of men ever to have viſited. Then aſking whom he named for the ſecond? Pyrrhus, ſays he, who firſt taught the true method of forming camps: none ever choſe the ground or poſted guards more properly than he. Scipio goes on aſking, who he thought deſerved the third place? He anſwers, himſelf. Scipio ſmiling ſays, what would you have ſaid if you had conquered me? Then truly, ſays he, I would have put myſelf before Alexander, Pyrrhus and all others. Among the reſt of the prodigies (which are ſaid to have been very many) an ox, belonging to Cn. Domitius the conſul, is reported to have ſaid theſe words, 'Rome have a care.' The Romans prepare for war with Antiochus. Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon, inſtigated

by the Ætolians, who solicited both Philip and Antiochus to make war against the Romans, revolts, and having carried on a war against Philopœmen prætor of the Achæans, is killed by the Ætolians. The Ætolians likewise fall off from their amity, with whom Antiochus king of Syria joining in alliance, makes war on Greece, and seizes amongst the rest Chalcis and all Eubœa. Besides it contains an account of the exploits against the Ligurians and the preparations for war made by Antiochus.

CHAP. I. IN the beginning of the year, in which these affairs were transacted, Sex. Digitius, the prætor in Hither Spain, had frequent skirmishes, scarce worth mentioning, with the states which after the departure of M. Cato had revolted in great numbers; and the most part so unsuccessful, that he scarce delivered to his successor half the soldiers he had received. Nor is it to be doubted but all Spain would have revolted, had not the other prætor P. Cornelius Scipio the son of Cn. fought many successful battles beyond the Ebro, through terror of which not less than fifty towns revolted to him. These were Scipio's exploits whilst prætor. When pro-prætor he attacked the Lusitanians on their return home with a great booty, which they got by laying waste the further province. He fought with them from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon before victory declared itself. He was inferior to them in number, but superior in other respects: for his troops were formed in close order while the enemy were extended in a long line and incommoded with a multitude of cattle; and his soldiers were fresh, but theirs fatigued with a long march. For the enemy had set out at the third watch: to this march by night two hours of the day were added; and without any interval of rest the battle succeded the toil of the journey. However in the beginning of the action there remained some vigor in their bodies and minds, and they put the Romans into disorder. After this the battle became equal. In this danger the pro-prætor vowed games to Jupiter, if he should rout and defeat the enemy. At length the Romans advanced with more vigor, and the Lusitanians

ſitanians gave way, till at laſt they fled in good earneſt, and the victors purſued ſo cloſe that they killed about 12000 of them, took 540 priſoners, almoſt all horſemen, with 134 enſigns. The Romans loſt 73 men. The battle was not far from the town of Ilipa [a]. Thither P. Cornelius brought back his victorious army enriched with booty. That was all laid out to view before the town; and leave granted to the owners of claming what they knew to be theirs. The reſt was given to the quæſtor to be expoſed to ſale, and the money ariſing from it divided among the ſoldiers.

CHAP. II.

DURING theſe tranſactions in Spain, Flaminius the prætor had not yet ſet out from Rome. He and his friends talked much about the loſſes as well as the advantages of this war. As a great war had broke out in the province, and he was only to receive the remains of an army from Sex. Digitius, and thoſe diſpirited by their defeats, he attempted to get one of the city legions decreed to him, that when he had added to them the ſoldiers levied by himſelf, by order of the ſenate, he might chooſe out of the whole 3500 foot, and 300 horſe, and with that legion he would proſecute the war; for there was little dependence to be had on the army of Digitius. The oldeſt of the ſenators inſiſted, 'that the ſenate ought 'not to paſs decrees upon rumors raſhly ſpread a-'broad by private people in favor of particular ma-'giſtrates. No account ought to be deemed authen-'tic, but what either the prætors wrote from their 'provinces, or ſent meſſengers to deliver by word 'of mouth. If there was actually an inſurrection in 'Spain, they thought proper that the prætor ſhould 'levy troops haſtily out of Italy.' Thus it was the mind of the ſenate, that ſoldiers ſhould be levy'd in haſte in Spain. Valerius Antias writes, that C. Flaminius ſailed into Sicily for the ſake of levying men; and in his voyage from it to Spain was caſt by ſtorm upon the coaſt of Africa, where he inliſted ſome

[a] Now *Lepe* near the mouth of the river *Anas*.

ſtragglers of Africanus's army. After that he made a third levy in Spain.

CHAP. III. NOR did the war of the Ligurians increaſe more ſlowly in Italy. They had already beſieged Piſa with 40000 men, as multitudes flocked there on the report of the war and in hopes of booty. Minucius the conſul came to Aretium the day on which he appointed the ſoldiers to rendezvous there, and from thence he marched his troops to Piſa in a ſquare battalion. Then the enemy moved their camp a mile from the town on the other ſide of the river, and the conſul entered it. Without doubt his arrival ſaved it. Next day he alſo pitched his camp on the other ſide of the river about half a mile from the enemy. By this he prevented the lands of the allies from being plundered by light ſkirmiſhes. However he durſt not riſque a general action, becauſe his troops, who had been gathered together out of many different places, were neither diſciplined nor ſo well acquainted as to confide in one another. The Ligurians, truſting to their numbers, drew out in order of battle, ready to come to a deciſive action; and as they had men to ſpare, ſent out many detachments to pillage the remoteſt parts of the country, having an eſcort ready, in caſe they got together a great quantity of cattle and other booty, to conduct it to their fortreſſes and towns.

CHAP. IV. WHILE Piſa was thus the ſeat of the Ligurian war, the other conſul Merula led his army through the confines of the Ligurians into the country of the Boii, where the war was carried on in a quite different manner from that of the Ligurians. The conſul marched out in order of battle; but the enemy declining the challenge, the Romans ranged up and down and pillaged their lands without reſiſtance. The Boii choſe rather to let their country be plundered with impunity, than to riſque a battle to protect them. After all places were ſufficiently waſted with fire and ſword the conſul withdrew from the enemies country, and marched towards Modena with

as little precaution, as if he had been in an ally's country. The Boii, perceiving the enemy had quitted their territories, followed them privately, ſeeking a place fit for an ambuſh. Having in the night paſſed the Roman camp they ſeized a foreſt, through which the Romans were to paſs. However they did not do this ſo ſecretly but the conſul got notice of it. In conſequence though he uſed to decamp before day, yet leſt the night ſhould augment the fear of his troops in a tumultuary engagement, he waited till day light, and even then detached a troop of horſe to reconnoitre the enemy. After he got intelligence of their number and ſituation, he ordered the baggage of the whole army to be thrown down in the middle, and the triarii to draw a trench round it; and forming the reſt of the army, advanced towards the enemy. The Gauls did the ſame, as ſoon as they perceived that their ambuſh was diſcovered, and that they muſt come to an action on fair ground, where true valor muſt have the advantage. CHAP. IV.

THE fight began about eight in the morning. The left wing of the allies horſe, and extraordinaries fought in the van, and were headed by two conſular lieutenants, M. Marcellus and Ti. Sempronius conſul of the preceding year. The new conſul was ſometimes in the front, and ſometimes went to reſtrain the legions poſted for a reſerve, to prevent their ardor from making them fall on before the ſignal was given. He ordered Q. and P. Minucius legionary tribunes to lead out the cavalry of the legions without the lines into an open place, from whence upon a ſignal they were to attack. Whilſt he was making theſe diſpoſitions, an aid du camp arrived from Ti. Sempronius, to tell him, that the extraordinaries could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the Gauls, and that many of them were killed: 'that thoſe 'who remained, partly through fatigue, and partly 'through fear, had ſlackened their ardor. He deſir-'ed him therefore to ſend one of the two legions, if 'he thought fit, to ſupport them before they were 'ſhamefully CHAP. V.

CHAP. V.

'shamefully routed.' Accordingly the second legion was detached, and relieved the extraordinaries. Then the battle was renewed by a close legion of fresh men many ranks deep. The left wing was also drawn off, and the right took it's post in the van. The sun shined with violence on the Gauls, who were incapable of enduring heat; nevertheless they sustained the impetuosity of the Romans by keeping close together, leaning sometimes on one another, and sometimes on their shields. When the consul perceived this, he ordered C. Livius Salinator, who had the command of the allies cavalry, to send in the swiftest of them to break the ranks, and keep the cavalry of the legions to support them. Their impetuous charge put the Gauls army into confusion and disorder, and at length broke them; yet not so much as to make them turn their backs: For their officers prevented that by wounding them in the back with their spears when they offered to fly, and forcing them to return to their ranks: The consul conjured the soldiers 'to exert themselves a 'while longer, for the victory was in their power; to 'press on while they saw them in disorder and con-'sternation; for if they suffered them to rally they 'had a fresh engagement, and of doubtful event, 'to sustain.' He ordered the standard bearers to advance with the colors. Accordingly they all made a vigorous effort, and at length made the enemy give way. After they had turned their backs, and were flying every way, the legionary cavalry were detached to pursue them. 14000 Boii were killed that day, and 1092 taken prisoners. Among them were 721 cavaliers, and three of their generals, with 212 standards and 36 waggons. Nor was the victory without loss to the Romans. Above 5000 Romans and allies were killed: among them were 23 centurions; 4 prefects of the allies, and M. Genucius, and M. Marcius tribunes of the second legion.

CHAP. VI.

ALMOST at the same time letters arrived from both consuls: Cornelius's gave an account of the battle with the Boii at Modena, and Minucius's from Pisa were to this effect, 'That the presiding at elections had fallen to his lot: but that all things were 'in such suspence among the Ligurians, that he could 'not leave his post without the ruin of the allies, 'and detriment to the state. Therefore if the fathers thought proper, they might send for his 'collegue, who, as he had finished his war, might 'easily return to Rome to hold the elections. But if 'he should think that a hardship, because it had not 'fallen to his lot, he himself would do whatever 'the senate should think fit. Yet he prayed them 'to consider seriously, if it was not more for the benefit of the state, that there should be an inter-'regnum, than that he should leave this province 'in it's present situation.' The senate ordered C. Scribonius to dispatch two messengers of senatorial dignity to L. Cornelius the consul with his collegue's letters sent to the senate, and acquaint him, that in case he did not come to Rome to hold the election of magistrates in room of Q. Minucius, who could not quit a war yet unfinished, they would suffer an inter-regnum to take place. The messengers went and brought back word, that Cornelius would come to Rome to hold the elections of magistrates. As to his accounts of his victory over the Boii, there arose a dispute in the senate; because M. Claudius his lieutenant had written privately to most of the senators, 'That the victory was owing to the fortune 'of the Roman people, and the valor of the troops. 'But the loss of so many soldiers, and the enemies 'army escaping, when they had so fair an opportunity of utterly destroying it, was to be charged 'on the consul. Great numbers of the soldiers perished by not being seasonably supported. The 'enemy escaped out of their hands by the signal 'not being given in due time to the cavalry of the 'legions, so that they could not pursue the fugitives.'

IT

CHAP. VII.

IT was thought proper not to determine haſtily in that affair; ſo the conſideration of it was put off to a fuller aſſembly. Another affair required their care; the uſury which oppreſſed the citizens. Though avarice had been reſtrained by many laws againſt uſury, yet a fraudulent method of lending money in the name of allies, that were not ſubject to theſe laws, was fallen on. Thus creditors oppreſſed the debtors by taking what intereſt they pleaſed. After deliberation about an expedient for diſtinguiſhing the true from the fictitious creditors, it was reſolved that all allies, who had lent money to Roman citizens ſince the feſtival to apeaſe the manes of the dead, ſhould give in an account thereof; and from that time the debtors ſhould be left to pay their creditors intereſt for the ſums they had borrowed, according to what laws they thought fit. The accounts given in diſcovering the great uſury that had been taken by this fraud, M. Sempronius tribune of the commons, by authority of the fathers, propoſed a bill to the people which they agreed to, 'That the ſame 'laws ſhould regulate intereſt amongſt the allies and 'Latins, as amongſt citizens of Rome.' Theſe were the civil and military tranſactions in Italy. In Spain the war was not near ſo great as it was reported. C. Flaminius in Hither Spain took Biatia[a], belonging to the Oretani, and then put his army into winter quarters. During the winter there happened ſome ſkirmiſhes not worth mentioning. They were with robbers rather than with regular enemies, yet with various ſucceſs, and not without loſs. He fought a pitched battle at Toledo with the Vaccæi, Vectones and Celtiberians, whom he defeated and put to flight, and took their king Hilermus priſoner.

CHAP. VIII.

DURING theſe exploits in Spain, the time of elections approached. L. Cornelius the conſul, leaving his lieutenant M. Claudius with the army, came to Rome to preſide at them. Having given the ſenate a detail of his exploits, and the ſituation of his

[a] Now *Baëca* in the extremities of *Andaluſia*.

province,

province, he complained that thanks had not been returned to the Gods, though ſo important a war was terminated by one ſucceſsful battle. Then he demanded a ſupplication, and a triumph at the ſame time. But before the ſenate took his demand under deliberation, Q. Metellus who had been conſul and dictator ſaid, 'That letters had come at the ſame 'time both from the conſul L. Cornelius to the ſe-'nate, and from M. Marcellus to a great number of 'ſenators, repugnant to one another. For this reaſon 'the affair had been deferred, that it might be diſput-'ed in the preſence of the authors of theſe letters. 'Therefore he expected that the conſul, who knew 'ſomething had been written againſt him by his 'lieutenant, would have brought him along with 'him when he was to come to Rome; eſpecially as 'in right the command of the army belonged to 'Ti. Sempronius, rather than to a lieutenant. By 'this it ſeemed he was kept out of the way on pur-'poſe, leſt he ſhould affirm in his preſence the thing 'he had written, or accuſe him to his face: or if he 'brought any falſe accounts it might be objected to, 'till the truth were clearly diſcovered. Therefore 'he voted that none of the conſuls demands ſhould 'be determined at that time.' But Cornelius perſiſting in his application for a day of thankſgiving and a triumph, M. and C. Titinius plebeian tribunes declared they would interpoſe, if any decree of the ſenate ſhould paſs in that affair. CHAP. VIII.

SEX. Ælius Pætus, and C. Cornelius Cethegus had been choſen cenſors the year before: Cornelius finiſhed the luſtrum. There were regiſtered 143704 citizens. Great inundations happened this year, and the Tiber overflowed the low parts of the city. Alſo ſome places about the Flumentine gate fell down, and the gate of mount Colinus was ſtruck with lightening with many places of the wall. At Aricia, Lanuvium, and in the Aventine it rained ſtones. And accounts arrived from Capua, that a large ſwarm of waſps had come ſuddenly into the market CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

market place, and ſettled in a temple of Mars; they were carefully gathered up and burnt. On account of theſe prodigies the decemvirs were ordered to inſpect the Sybilline books, and a novendiale, a ſupplication and expiatory ſacrifices were appointed. About the ſame time M. Porcius Cato dedicated a temple to Victoria the virgin, near the temple of Victory, two years after he vowed it. The ſame year a colony of Latins was ſettled in the territories of the Thurii by three commiſſioners Cn. Manlius Vulſo, L. Apuſtius Fullo and Q. Ælius Tubero, who had propoſed the law for that purpoſe. 3000 foot and 300 horſemen went, a ſmall number for the abundance of land. Each foot ſoldier might have had thirty acres and each knight ſixty. But by advice of Apuſtius a third part of the land was reſerved, that they might ſend new planters afterwards if they had a mind. The foot received twenty acres and the horſe forty apiece.

CHAP. X.

THE year drew towards an end, and there never was a ſtronger competition for the conſulate than now. Many illuſtrious men, who had great intereſt, both patricians and plebeians, appeared as candidates. P. Cor. Scipio the ſon of Cn. who had lately left the province of Spain after performing great exploits; L. Quinctius Flamininus who had been admiral of the fleet in Greece; Cn. Manlius Vulſo, all patricians. The plebeians were C. Lælius, Cn. Domitius, C. Livius Salinator and Manius Acilius. But all men's eyes were fixed on Quinctius and Cornelius. For they were candidates for the ſame place, being both patricians, and both recommended by their recent military glory. But above all things the ſtruggle was heightened by the brothers of the candidates, two of the moſt famous generals of their age: Scipio's glory was the greater, and on that account expoſed to the greateſt envy; but Quinctius's was newer by having triumphed that ſame year. Beſides Scipio had now for almoſt ten years been daily in view, and the people familiarized to the ſight of him (which leſſens their admiration of illuſtrious men) and had been conſul

ful a second time, and censor since the defeat of Hannibal. Quinctius's merit and triumph were recent and unrewarded; he had neither obtained nor asked any thing from the people after his triumph: He said he petitioned for his own brother, and not for a cousin: for his lieutenant and partner in a war, in which he had acted by land and his brother by sea. By these representations he got his brother preferred to a candidate supported by the interest of Africanus his brother and the Cornelian family, whilst a consul Cornelius presided in the election: a candidate who had so remarkable a determination of the senate in his favor, as to be judged the best man in the state, for the reception of Cybele mother of the Gods on her arrival from Pessinus. L. Quinctius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus were elected consuls. Thus Africanus met with a repulse both with regard to his brother and friend. Next day the prætors were chosen, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Fulvius Centumalus, A. Atillius Serranus, M. Bæbius Tamphilus, L. Valerius Tappus, and Q. Salonius Sarra. The ædileship of M. Æmilius Lepidus and L. Æmilius Paulus was very remarkable this year. They condemned many farmers of the public pastures, and with the money arising from their fines erected gilded shields on the top of Jupiter's temple. They also built a portico without the gate Trigemina; and made a market-place near the Tiber: They also built another portico from the gate Fontinalis to the altar of Mars, covering the way into the field.

CHAP. X.

L. Quinctius and Cn. Dom. Ænobarbus, consuls, Y. of R. 560. B. J.C. 192.

FOR a long time nothing remarkable had been performed among the Ligurians. About the end of that year that war proved dangerous. For the consul's camp was attacked, and he found difficulty to defend it: and not very long after as the Roman army was marching through a defile the Ligurians posted themselves in the very entrance to it. As there was no getting out that way, the consul resolved to return the same way he had come; the entry of the defile behind him had also been seized by a detachment of the enemy. Then they not only called to mind the overthrow at Caudium, but had it almost

CHAP. XI.

before

CHAP. XI.

before their eyes. He had amongſt his auxiliaries about 800 Numidian horſe. Their commander undertook to force a paſſage with his men at which ſide the conſul pleaſed; all he deſired was to be informed on which was the greateſt number of villages, that he might fall on them, and immediately ſet the houſes on fire, in order to compel the Ligurians to abandon the defile they had ſeized, and run to the aſſiſtance of their peaſants. The conſul having commended his reſolution loaded him with hopes of reward. The Numidians mounted their horſes, and begun to ride up to the enemies advanced guard, without offering any inſult. Nothing could be more contemptible than their firſt appearance. Both men and horſes were ſmall and lean; the riders without clothing or arms except javelins; the horſes without bridles, and their motion ridiculous: For they thruſt out their necks and hung down their heads as they gallop'd: To encreaſe this contempt, they on purpoſe affected to fall from their horſes, and became a diverting ſhew to the enemy. In conſequence the greateſt part of the guards, who at firſt had been intent and ready in their poſts in caſe of an attack, now ſat down unarmed to ſee this agreeable ſcene. The Numidians rode up to them, and then retired; but by degrees approached nearer the opening, as if they had been unable to govern their horſes. At laſt clapping ſpurs to them they broke through the midſt of the enemy's poſts, and getting into a more open country, ſet fire to all the houſes that were near the roads. Then they did the ſame to the next villages, and laid waſte all the country with fire and ſword. Firſt the ſight of the ſmoke, then the cries of the frighted people in the villages, laſtly the aged people and children running to the camp for ſhelter, occaſioned great confuſion there. In conſequence every man running to defend his own without counſel or command, in a moment the camp was abandoned, and the conſul, being freed from his ſiege, came to the place he intended.

BUT

CHAP. XII.

BUT neither the Boii, nor Spaniards, with whom they were at war that year, bore ſuch enmity and ſpite to the Romans as the Ætolian nation. After the withdrawing the armies from Greece, they firſt had entertained hopes, both that Antiochus would eaſily get poſſeſſion of Europe, now the Romans had no forces there, and that neither Philip nor Nabis would be quiet. But when they perceived no appearance of commotions from any quarter, not to let their deſigns deaden by delays, they thought proper to contrive ſome method to embroil affairs, and for that purpoſe appointed a diet to meet at Naupactus. There Thoas their prætor complained of the injuries of the Romans, and that the ſtate of Ætolia had been leaſt requited of all the Greek nations and ſtates, after that victory of which they themſelves had been the principal authors. He propoſed the ſending ambaſſadors to ſound the kings, and uſe all the ſtrongeſt arguments to excite them to war with the Romans. Accordingly Damocritus was ſent to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicæarchus, the prætor's brother, to Antiochus. Damocritus repreſented to the tyrant of Lacedæmon, 'That 'his domination was entirely weakened by the loſs 'of the maritime towns: from them he had his 'ſoldiers, from them his ſhips and ſailors; that be-'ing cooped up within his own walls, he beheld the 'Achæans lording it in Peloponneſus. He would 'never have an opportunity of recovering his poſ-'ſeſſions, if he let the preſent ſlip. There was no 'Roman army in Greece, nor would the Romans 'think it a ſufficient cauſe to tranſport legions thi-'ther, for the ſake of Gythium and other mari-'time towns of Laconia.' Theſe arguments he uſed to inflame the tyrant's mind, and induce him, through the conſciouſneſs of having violated the friendſhip of the Romans by injuries done to their allies, to join the Syrian as ſoon as he ſhould invade Greece. Nicander excited Philip by ſpeeches of the ſame kind. But he had more room to expatiate, as the king had been

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brought down from a higher pitch of dignity than the tyrant, and as he had ſuſtained greater loſſes. Beſides he mentioned 'the ancient reputation of the 'kings of Macedon, and the ſpreading the victories 'of that nation over all the world. He gave him 'an advice that was ſafe both in the enterprize and 'the event; for he did not adviſe him to move till 'Antiochus came into Europe with an army; and 'as he had for ſo long a time ſuſtained a war againſt 'the Romans and Ætolians without Antiochus, 'with what forces then could the Romans reſiſt 'them when united, and in alliance with the Æ-'tolians, who then were more formidable enemies 'than the Romans?' He alſo mentioned 'Hanni-'bal, an enemy to the Romans from his infancy, and 'who had killed more of their captains and ſoldiers 'than what remained alive.' This was Nicander's ſpeech to Philip. Dicæarchus uſed other arguments with Antiochus: He firſt of all ſaid, 'the Romans 'indeed had got the ſpoils of Philip, but it was the 'Ætolians who defeated him: they alone had open-'ed the Romans a paſſage into Greece, and ſupply-'ed them with forces to conquer it. They would 'furniſh him with numbers of horſe and foot for 'proſecuting the war; with quarters for his land 'forces, and ports for his fleets.' With reſpect to Philip and Nabis, he told him a downright lie, 'That both were ripe for rebellion, and would lay 'hold of the firſt opportunity that offered for re-'covering what they had loſt in the war.' Thus the Ætolians ſtirred up the whole world at once to make war againſt the Romans. Nevertheleſs theſe reaſons either made no impreſſion on theſe ſovereigns, or they were not haſty in coming to a determination.

CHAP. XIII.

NABIS immediately diſpatched meſſengers round all the coaſts to ſtir up ſeditions, and brought over ſome of the chiefs to his party by bribes, and aſſaſ-ſinated others who firmly adhered to their alliance with the Romans. Flamininus had committed the care of all the coaſts of Laconia to the Achæans.

In

In consequence without delay they sent ambassadors to the tyrant to put him in mind of his league with the Romans, and admonished him not to break the peace which he had so earnestly begged for. They also sent assistance to Gythium, which was already invested by the tyrant; and ambassadors to Rome to give an account of what had happened. King Antiochus having celebrated the nuptials of his daughter with Ptolemy king of Ægypt at Raphia[a] in Phœnicia returned to Antioch, and then passing mount Taurus, crossed Celicia to Ephesus about the end of the winter: from thence early in the spring he detached his son Antiochus into Syria, to guard the remotest parts of his kingdom lest any disturbance should happen behind him in his absence. He himself went with all his land forces to attack the Pisidians[b] near Sida. At that time the Roman ambassadors, P. Sulpicius and P. Villius, who had been sent to Antiochus, (as is related above) but ordered first to wait on Eumenes, came to Elœa[c]. From thence they proceded to Pergamus where Eumenes kept his court. Eumenes was desirous of a war with Antiochus, 'believing so powerful a king would be 'a dangerous neighbor in time of peace; but could 'not however be a match for the Romans in case 'of war, any more than Philip had proved. In 'case of war he would be either intirely ruined; or 'if a peace should be granted him when vanquished, 'whatever he was deprived of would accrue to himself: so that he would easily stand his ground a'gainst him afterwards without any assistance from 'the Romans. And even if things should fall out 'otherways, it was better to run any risque in al'liance with the Romans, than alone to have laws 'prescribed him by Antiochus, who if he should re'fuse would compel him by force of arms to accept 'them.' For these reasons, as far as he could have influence by his authority and counsels, he stirred up the Romans to war. CHAP. XIII.

[a] A city of *Palestine*. [b] A country in lesser *Asia*, on the confines of *Pamphylia*. [c] Now *L'Alea* in *Mysia Major*.

CHAP. XIV.

SULPICIUS was detained at Pergamus by ſickneſs. Villius, hearing that the king was taken up with the Piſidian war, went to Epheſus, and the few days he ſtaid there made it his buſineſs to have frequent conferences with Hannibal, who happened to be there at that time. His views were to ſound him if poſſible; and convince him he had nothing to apprehend from the Romans. Theſe conferences came to nothing; nevertheleſs they had this natural conſequence as much as if it had been deſignedly ſought for, that Hannibal became thereby in leſs favor with the king, and more ſuſpected by him. Claudius on the authority of the Greek annaliſt, Acilius, ſays, that P. Africanus was in that embaſſy, and that he converſed with Hannibal at Epheſus. In particular he relates one converſation, in which Africanus aſked Hannibal, 'Whom he thought the great-'eſt general?' He anſwered, 'Alexander king of 'Macedon: becauſe he had defeated the moſt nu-'merous armies with a ſmall number of men, and 'had overrun the remoteſt parts of the world, which 'had been beyond the hopes of men to have viſit-'ed.' And whom do you place of the ſecond rank; continued Scipio? 'Pyrrhus, ſaid Hannibal; for 'he firſt taught the right method of forming camps, 'and none choſe ground or poſted guards more 'properly. Beſides he had ſo great an art of con-'ciliating the affections of men, that the Italian na-'tions choſe rather to be ſubject to him, though 'a foreigner, than to the Roman people, who had 'been ſo long ſovereigns of that country.' Scipio went on and aſked, 'Whom he thought deſerved the 'third place?' Myſelf, reply'd the Carthaginian, 'without diſpute.' At this Scipio ſmiled, and ſaid: 'What would you have ſaid if you had conquered 'me?' 'I would, ſaid he, have placed myſelf be-'fore Alexander, Pyrrhus, and all other generals.' Scipio was delighted with this refined flattery and equivocal anſwer, which ſeparated him from the crowd of generals, as of ineſtimable abilities.

VILLIUS

VILLIUS proceded from Epheſus to Apamea, where Antiochus, hearing of their arrival, met them. At their audience there the diſpute was almoſt the ſame with the former at Rome, between T. Quinctius and the king's ambaſſadors. The news of the death of Antiochus the king's ſon, who had been ſent into Syria, as I juſt now related, broke off the conferences. This young prince was extremely lamented and regretted at the Syrian court. For he had already given ſuch proofs of his abilities, that it appeared, if he had happened to live longer, he would have proved a great, wiſe and equitable king. His having attracted the love and eſteem of all perſons, made his death the more ſuſpicious. It was ſaid, the old king, who was in the decline of life, was wounded to the heart at the thoughts of a ſucceſſor, and cauſed him to be poiſoned by ſome eunuchs, whom princes uſually entertain for the perpetration of ſuch villainies. They likewiſe aſſigned another reaſon for this ſecret crime; that having given Lyſimachia to his ſon Seleucus, he had no reſidence like it to give to Antiochus, as an honorable pretext to remove him to a great diſtance from himſelf. Nevertheleſs the court put on the appearance of extraordinary grief for ſome days, and the Roman ambaſſadors, not to interrupt them at an unſeaſonable time, retired to Pergamus. The Syrian, abandoning the war he had commenced, returned to Epheſus. There under pretext of affliction he ſhut himſelf up in his palace, where he held ſecret conferences with Minio his principal favorite. Minio, who was intirely ignorant of foreign affairs, and eſtimated the ſtrength of the king from his exploits in Syria and Aſia, believed that Antiochus had not only the advantage of the cauſe, as the Romans demands were nowiſe equitable, but alſo that he would be ſuperior in war. As the king avoided diſputes with the ambaſſadors, either becauſe he had already experienced their fruitleſsneſs, or elſe becauſe overwhelmed with ſorrow; Minio undertook to manage the cauſe for

CHAP. XV.

him, and perſuaded him to ſend for the ambaſſadors from Pergamus.

CHAP. XVI.

BY this time Sulpicius had recovered, and ſo both he and Villius came to Epheſus. Minio excuſed the king's abſence, and then the conference began. Minio made a ſtudied harangue. 'Romans, I perceive you make uſe of a ſpecious pretext of ſetting the Greek ſtates at liberty: but your actions do not correſpond with your words, and you preſcribe one law to Antiochus, and another to yourſelves. Are the Smyrnians, and Lampſacans any more Greeks than the Neapolitans, Rhegians and Tarentines from whom you exact tribute and ſhips by virtue of a treaty? Why do you ſend annually to Syracuſe, and other Greek cities of Sicily, a prætor with unlimited authority, and attended with lictors armed with faſces and axes? Truly you'll ſay, you impoſed theſe laws upon them after having ſubdued them in war. Take the ſame reaſon from Antiochus, with reſpect to Smyrna and Lampſacus, cities of Ionia and Æolis. Being conquered and made tributary by his anceſtors, he only ſeeks to recover his ancient right over them. Therefore I would have you give him an anſwer to theſe queſtions, if you do not chicane and ſeek a pretext for war.' To this Sulpicius replied, 'Since Antiochus had no better arguments to offer for his cauſe, he had acted modeſtly in chooſing, they ſhould be urged rather by any perſon than by himſelf. For what ſimilitude is there between the caſes of thoſe cities which you have named: we exact from the Rhegians, Tarentines, and Neapolitans what they owe us by treaty, by a tenure perpetual and uninterrupted ever ſince our conqueſt of them. But can you ſay, that theſe ſtates have never changed their alliance either of themſelves or by the intervention of others; ſo likewiſe that the cities of Aſia, when they once fell under the power of Antiochus's anceſtors remained perpetually under his juriſdiction? Have not ſome of them

'been

'been in ſubjection to Philip, ſeveral to Pto- CHAP.
'lemy, and others enjoyed their liberty for many XVI.
'years without any diſpute? For if their being
'once inſlaved through the calamity of the times,
'gives a juſt title to reduce them again to a ſtate
'of ſubjection after ſo many ages; it will fol-
'low that we have been doing nothing in deliver-
'ing Greece from Philip; and his poſterity may re-
'claime Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias, and the whole
'country of Theſſaly. But what buſineſs have I
'to plead the cauſe of the cities of Aſia, which it
'is more equitable for us and the king himſelf to
'take cognizance of by hearing them ſpeak for
'themſelves?'

THEN he ordered the deputies to be called in. CHAP.
They had been before prepared and inſtructed by XVII.
Eumenes, who reckoned that he would get what-
ever ſhould be taken from Antiochus as an acceſſion
to his dominions. Many of them being admitted
every one fell to making his complaints and demands,
ſome juſt ſome unreaſonable, ſo that they turned
the diſpute into a ſcene of altercation, neither party
yielding or obtaining any thing. The ambaſſadors
returned to Rome as uncertain in all points as they
came. The king after their departure held a coun-
cil about a war with the Romans. There every
one ſpoke with more vehemence than another, be-
cauſe the harſher expreſſions any one uſed againſt
the Romans, he had the greater hopes of conciliat-
ing favor. Some blamed the haughtineſs of their
demand, in pretending to give laws to Antiochus the
greateſt of the Aſiatic kings, in the ſame manner as to
a conquered Nabis, who even was allowed to retain
his domination over his native country and Lace-
dæmon, while it ſeemed diſhonorable that Smyrna
and Lampſacus ſhould be ſubject to Antiochus. O-
thers ſaid that theſe cities were mean and ſcarce
worth mentioning as cauſes of war againſt a great
king. But unjuſt demands always begun by clame
of right; unleſs they could believe that when the

Perſians demanded earth and water of the Lacedæmonians, they ſtood in need of a bit of earth and draught of water only. This attempt of the Romans, with reſpect to theſe two cities, was of a like nature: And other cities would revolt to the delivering people, as ſoon as they ſaw two ſhake off the yoke. If liberty were not preferable to ſlavery, yet the hope of alterations in public affairs was more flattering to every one than their preſent condition.

CHAP. XVIII.

ALEXANDER of Acarnania was preſent in the council. He formerly had been one of Philip's courtiers, but had lately left him to follow the more opulent court of Antiochus: and as if ſkilled in the affairs of Greece, and not ignorant of the Romans, was admitted to ſuch a degree of friendſhip with the king as to be privy to his ſecret councils. This man, as if the conſultation had been, not whether a war was convenient or no, but where, and after what manner it was to be carried on, affirmed, 'That his 'mind preſaged undoubted victory, if the king 'ſhould paſs over into Europe, and make ſome 'part of Greece the ſeat of the war. For firſt he 'would find the Ætolians; who inhabit the middle of 'Greece, in arms, and ready to undergo the greateſt 'hardſhips of the war. Nabis would beſtir himſelf 'with vigor on the ſide of Peloponneſus, for the 'recovery of Argos, and the maritime cities from 'which the Romans had driven him, and ſhut him 'up within the walls of Lacedæmon. On the ſide 'of Macedonia, Philip, as ſoon as he heard the a-'larm ſounded, would take arms. He knew his 'courage and reſolution: knew that for a long time 'he had entertained great wrath in his mind, like 'the wild beaſts that are ſhut up in dens or kept 'in chains. That he remembered how often in 'his own war he uſed to implore the Gods to 'give him the aid of Antiochus, which wiſh if 'he ſhould now obtain, he would make no delay in 'rebelling. Only they muſt not delay, or put off the 'time; for the victory depended on getting the

'ſtart

'ſtart of the enemy in ſeizing convenient poſts and 'making allies. That Hannibal muſt forthwith be 'ſent into Africa, to create a diverſion for the Ro- 'man arms.'

CHAP. XIX.

HANNIBAL not being admitted to the council, becauſe ſuſpected and diſregarded by the king, on account of his familiar intercourſe with Villius, at firſt bore that diſgrace in ſilence: but thinking it adviſeable both to inquire into the reaſon of that ſudden averſion, and a proper time to clear himſelf, he directly aſked the cauſe of his diſpleaſure, and being told it, ſaid, 'Antiochus, my father Amilcar when I 'was very young led me to the altar of a ſolemn 'ſacrifice, and made me ſwear never to be a friend 'to the Roman people. Under this oath I have 'carried arms theſe ſix and thirty years: this led me 'out of my native country when at peace with Rome: 'this brought me to your court in my exile: under 'the conduct of this oath, if you diſappoint my 'hopes, wherever I can learn there is ſtrength or 'arms in the whole world, thither will I fly in ſearch 'of enemies to the Romans. Therefore if any of 'your courtiers have a mind to raiſe their credit 'with you by calumniating mine, let them ſeek other 'means to advance themſelves than by my ruin. 'I hate the Romans, and am hated by them: That 'I ſpeak truth, I call the Gods and Amilcar's manes 'to witneſs. Wherefore when you are meditating a 'war with the Romans, reckon Hannibal among 'your choiceſt friends. But if any thing compel 'you to peace you muſt find ſome other perſon to 'adviſe with about it.' This ſpeech not only moved the king, but even reconciled him to Hannibal. The council broke up fully determined for war.

CHAP. XX.

AT Rome indeed they gave out Antiochus for an enemy, but as yet they made no preparations for that war, except courage. Italy was decreed as province to both the conſuls; ſo that they might agree between themſelves, or caſt lots which of them ſhould preſide at the elections for next year: and he who

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who ſhould be free of that care, to be in readineſs to march his legions, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, any where without the confines of Italy: This conſul was permitted to levy two new legions, and 20000 foot, with 900 horſe of the allies and Latins. To the other conſul were decreed the two, which Lucius Cornelius the former conſul had commanded, and of allies and Latins out of the ſame army 15000 foot and 500 horſe. Q. Minucius continued in his command of the army which he had in Liguria, with power to levy 4000 Roman foot and 150 horſe: and of the allies 5000 foot, and 250 horſe as a ſupply. The province of marching out of Italy, where the ſenate ſhould think fit, fell to the ſhare of Cn. Domitius, and L. Quinctius had Gaul and the honor of preſiding at the elections. Then the prætors caſt lots for their provinces: Centumalus had the juriſdiction of citizens; Libo that of foreigners; L. Tappus, Sicily; Sarra, Sardinia; M. Tamphilus the Hither, and Serranus the Further Spain. But the two laſt had their provinces changed, firſt by a decree of the ſenate, and then by an ordinance of the commons. The fleet and Macedonia were decreed to Atilius, and Bruttium to Bæbius. Flaminius and Fulvius were continued in their command of the Spaniſh provinces. The two legions were allotted to Tamphilus for Bruttium, which had gariſoned Rome the year before, with 15000 foot and 500 horſe of the allies. Atilius was ordered to build 30 quinqueremes, and to draw out the old ones from the docks, if any were fit for ſervice, and to levy ſeamen. The conſuls were ordered to give him 2000 allies and Latins, and 1000 Roman foot. Theſe two prætors land army and fleet were ſaid to be intended againſt Nabis, who was now in open war againſt the allies of the Romans. But the ambaſſadors ſent to Antiochus were expected: till they ſhould return, the ſenate had forbid Cn. Domitius the conſul to ſtir from the city. The prætors Fulvius and Scribonius, whoſe province it was to diſpenſe

penſe juſtice at Rome, were ordered to provide one hundred quinqueremes, beſides that fleet Atilius was to have the command of.

CHAP. XXI.

BEFORE the conſul and prætors could ſet out for their provinces a ſupplication was appointed on account of prodigies. It was reported from Picenum that a ſhe goat had brought forth ſix kids at a birth: and that a child was born with only one hand at Aretium: that it rained earth at Amiternum: at Formiæ the gate and wall had been ſtruck with lightning: and (which frightned them moſt of all) an ox belonging to Cn. Domitius the conſul had ſpoke theſe words, 'Rome 'take care of yourſelf.' A ſupplication was made on account of the other prodigies: but the haruſpices ordered the ox to be carefully fed and tended. The Tiber breaking in upon the city with greater force than before, overturned two bridges and many houſes, eſpecially about the gate del populo. A great rock, whether looſened by the rains, or by an earthquake ſmaller than to be otherwiſe perceived, fell down from the capitol into the ſtreet called Jugarius, and cruſhed many people to death. The waters, every where overflowing the fields, carry'd off the cattle, and made a great deſtruction in the villages. Before L. Quinctius the conſul could reach his province, Q. Minucius had fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians in the territory of Piſa: 9000 of the enemies were killed; the reſt being routed and put to flight were driven back to their camp, which was both attacked and defended with great vigor till night came on. In the night the Ligurians marched out privately. At break of day the Romans entered the deſolate camp. There was the leſs booty found, becauſe from time to time they ſent home the ſpoils they had taken in the country to their houſes. After that Minucius gave the enemies no time to breathe. Marching from Piſa into Liguria, he laid waſte their caſtles and villages with fire and ſword. There the Roman ſoldiers were glutted with the ſpoils of Hetruria, which had been ſent thither by the plunderers.

CHAP. XXII.

ABOUT

CHAP. XXII.

ABOUT the ſame time the ambaſſadors returned to Rome from the kings: as they brought nothing home that might be a ſufficient ground for war, unleſs againſt the Lacedæmonian tyrant, whom the Achæan ambaſſadors reported to have attacked the maritime cities of Laconia contrary to the league; Atilius the prætor was ſent with the fleet into Greece to protect the allies. It was thought proper that both conſuls ſhould ſet out for their provinces ſince nothing of a ſudden was to be feared from Antiochus. Domitius took the neareſt road from Ariminum; and Quinctius marched through Liguria into the country of the Boii. The two conſular armies taking different routs ravaged the enemy's country. Firſt a few of their cavalry with their commanders, then the whole ſenate, and laſtly all who had any eſtate or dignity, to the number of 1500, fled over to the conſuls. And in both the Spains that year affairs were managed ſucceſsfully. For C. Flaminius took Litabrum [a] an opulent fortified town by a regular ſiege, and took the noble prince Corribilo priſoner. M. Fulvius the pro-conſul fought two ſucceſsful battles with two armies of the enemy; and took two Spaniſh towns, Veſcelia [b] and Holo [c], and many of their caſtles by ſtorm; others revolted to him of their own accord. Then marching into the country of the Oretani, and there gaining two towns, Noliba [d] and Cuſibis [e], he continued his march to the river Tagus. Here ſtood Toledo a ſmall town, but fortified by nature: whilſt he was beſieging it a great army of the Vectones came to it's aſſiſtance. With theſe he fought ſucceſsfully, and putting them to flight took Toledo by a regular ſiege.

CHAP. XXIII.

NEVERTHELESS at that time the fathers were not ſo much engroſſed by the wars which they had in hand, as with the expectation of one not yet begun with Antiochus. For though from time to

[a] *Marcotea*, in the country of the *Arevaci*, Briet.
[b] *Hueſca*, in the country of the *Turdetani*.
[c] *Xixona*, in *Valentia*.
[d] *Almodovar*, in *Ortania*.
[e] *La Puebla de Alocer*.

time

time they had intelligence of every thing by means of their ambaſſadors, yet many falſhoods were mixed with the truth by flying rumors ſpread about without any certain authors. Amongſt the reſt it was reported that Antiochus, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive in Ætolia, would ſend a fleet to Sicily. Therefore though the ſenate ſent the prætor Atilius with a fleet into Greece, yet becauſe there was need of authority as well as forces to maintain the allies in their friendſhip, they diſpatched T. Quinctius, C. Octavius, Cn. Servilius and P. Villius ambaſſadors into Greece. They alſo ordered M. Bæbius to march his legions from Bruttium to Tarentum and Brundiſium, in order if needful to tranſport them into Macedonia. M. Fulvius the prætor was ordered to ſend a fleet of thirty ſail under command of an admiral to defend the coaſt of Sicily. He appointed L. Oppius Salinator, who had been ædile of the commons the preceding year. The ſame prætor had orders to write to L. Valerius his colleague, 'That ſince it was to be feared king Antiochus would paſs over from Ætolia to Sicily, it was 'the pleaſure of the ſenate, that he ſhould levy 12000 'foot and 400 horſe with all expedition to reinforce 'the army he had already, in order to defend the 'coaſt of the province oppoſite to Greece.' The prætor made that levy not only in Sicily but alſo in the adjacent iſlands, and placed gariſons in all the coaſt towns on the ſide of Greece. The arrival of Attalus, Eumenes's brother, gave birth to freſh rumors. He brought advice that king Antiochus had croſſed the Helleſpont with his army, and that the Ætolians were preparing to be in arms againſt his arrival. Thanks were returned both to Eumenes abſent and Attalus preſent; and free lodgings, attendants, and allowance of proviſions were ordered him, with a preſent of two horſes, two ſuits of armor for a horſeman, ſilver vaſes of one hundred pound weight and gold ones of twenty. CHAP. XXIII.

FORASMUCH as diverſe couriers brought advice of an approaching war, it ſeemed convenient that the CHAP. XXIV.

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the election of conſuls ſhould be held as ſoon as poſſible. Therefore a decree of the ſenate paſſed, that M. Fulvius the prætor ſhould write to the conſul forthwith, to acquaint him, that it was the pleaſure of the ſenate, he ſhould give the command of his province and army to his lieutenants, and return to Rome; and on his journey to ſend an edict before him to call an aſſembly for the election of conſuls. The conſul obey'd the letter, and having ſent an edict before him, arrived at Rome. That year alſo there was a great ſtruggle between three patrician competitors for one place. P. Corn. Scipio the ſon of Cn. who had met with a repulſe the year before, L. Corn. Scipio and Cn. Manlius Vulſo. The conſulate was conferred on P. Scipio, that it might appear the honor was delayed and not denied to ſo great a man; and they gave him Manius Acilius Glabrio, a plebeian, for his colegue. The next day the prætors were choſen, L. Æmilius Paulus, M. Æmilius Lepidus, M. Junius Brutus, A. Corn. Mammula, C. Livius and L. Oppius, both ſirnamed Salinator. Oppius was the ſame who had carried the fleet of thirty ſail into Sicily. In the mean time, till the new magiſtrates could chuſe their provinces, M. Bæbius was ordered to paſs over from Brundiſium to Epirus with all his forces, and to quarter his army about Apollonia. M. Fulvius the town prætor had commiſſion to build 50 new quinqueremes.

P. Cornel. Scipio Naſica, and M. Acil. Glabrio, conſuls. Y. of R. 561. B. J. C. 191.

CHAP. XXV.

IT was thus the people of Rome made preparations againſt all the attempts of Antiochus. Nabis had already taken the field and was beſieging Gythium with great vigor. Being enraged at the Achæans for throwing ſuccors into it, he laid waſte their country. The Achæans, not daring to undertake war till their ambaſſadors returned from Rome, and they knew the pleaſure of the ſenate, as ſoon as they arrived, held a diet at Sicyon, and ſent deputies to T. Quinctius to aſk his advice. The aſſembly in general was for commencing hoſtilities immediately. But the letters of T. Quinctius made them heſitate:

he adviſed them, to wait the arrival of the Roman prætor and fleet. Some of the chiefs perſiſting in their opinion, and others thinking it proper to follow the advice of Flamininus, the multitude impatiently deſired to hear the opinion of Philopœmen. He was then prætor, and was ſuperior to all at that time in wiſdom and authority. He obſerved firſt, 'that it 'was a wiſe inſtitution among the Ætolians, that 'their prætor ſhould not give his own opinion when 'the diet was deliberating about war. Then he de-'ſired they might come to a ſpeedy reſolution, and 'he would execute their orders with fidelity and care. 'He would endeavor, as far as human prudence was 'capable, they ſhould have no cauſe to repent their 'choice, whether it was peace or war.' This ſpeech more powerfully inclined them to war, than if by openly adviſing it, he had manifeſted a deſire of being in action. Accordingly war was decreed with univerſal conſent; and the time and plan of it left intirely to the prætor. Philopœmen, beſides it's being the advice of Quinctius, was himſelf of opinion, that they ſhould wait the arrival of the Roman fleet, that it might defend Gythium by ſea; but fearing the affair would not admit of delay, and that not only Gythium but the gariſon ſent to ſuccor it would be loſt, he ſailed thither with the Achæan fleet. CHAP. XXV.

THE tyrant had got together a ſmall fleet, to prevent the beſieged being relieved by ſea. He had three ſhips of war, ſome pinnaces and long gallies, his old fleet having been delivered up to the Romans at the peace. In order to try the agility of theſe new ſhips, and to have every thing in readineſs for an engagement, he uſed to put out to ſea every day, and exerciſe the rowers and ſoldiers with mock fights; for he placed his hopes of gaining the town ſolely on hindring ſuccors from being thrown into it by ſea. The Achæan prætor, though equal to the moſt famous generals either for experience or capacity in war at land, yet was unuſed to ſea affairs, having been born in Arcadia an inland country, and never been in foreign parts except CHAP. XXVI.

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except when he ſerved in Crete as captain of the auxiliaries. In port was an old quadrireme, taken eighty years before in her paſſage from Naupactus to Corinth with Nicæa wife of Craterus. Remembring that ſhe had been reckoned a prime ſailor, (for ſhe had formerly been the beſt in the royal navy) he ordered her to be brought from Ægium, though now very rotten, and ready to drop aſunder. He placed her at the head of the fleet with Tiſo of Patra the admiral on board her. They fell in with the Spartan fleet from Gythium, and immediately on the firſt onſet againſt a new and ſtout veſſel, this old leaky ſhip was daſhed in pieces, and all her crew made priſoners. The reſt of the fleet, having loſt their admiral, fled with all the ſail they could make. Philopœmen himſelf was in a felucca, and did not ſtop till he came to Patra. This misfortune did not damp the courage of this great warrior, who had experienced many before. On the contrary, having miſcarried in a naval expedition, of which he had no knowledge, he conceived the better hopes of ſucceſs in the uſe of thoſe weapons in which he was ſkilled, and affirmed, 'he 'would make the tyrant's joy ſhort lived.'

CHAP. XXVII.

NABIS, elated with his ſucceſs, and very confident that he had nothing more to fear by ſea, reſolved to block up the avenues by land alſo, by poſting guards in them. Drawing off a third part of his forces from the ſiege of Gythium he encamped at Bœæ. That poſt commanded both Leucæ and Acræ, through which it was thought the enemy would march. In this quarters few of them had tents, but the moſt part huts made of reeds and covered with leaves, which afforded them only a ſhade. Philopœmen, before he came in ſight of them, reſolved to ſurprize them by ſtratagem. He drew together ſmall veſſels to a private road on the Argian coaſt, on board of which he put light troops, armed for the moſt part with targets, ſlings, javelins, and other kinds of light arms. From thence he coaſted along the land, and coming to a promontory near the

the enemy's camp, landed, and marched by night to Bœæ by known paths. The ſentries were aſleep, having no apprehenſion of an enemy near them, ſo he ſet fire to the huts in all parts of the camp. Many were burnt before they perceived the approach of the enemy, and they who did perceive it could give no aſſiſtance. Every thing was conſumed with fire and ſword. Nevertheleſs a few eſcaped from this double danger to their grand camp before Gythium. Then Philopœmen, having ſtruck terror into the enemy, inſtantly marched to plunder Tripoli a city of Laconia near the confines of Megalopolis; and carrying off from thence a great number of men and cattle, withdrew before the tyrant could ſend them aſſiſtance. He likewiſe drew together an army at Tegæa, and ſummoned a diet of the Achæans and their allies to meet there. There were preſent the chiefs both of the Epirots and Acarnanians. He declared to them, that, ſince the courage of his own men was ſufficiently recovered after their ſhameful defeat by ſea, and the enemies diſheartened, he reſolved to advance to Lacedæmon, reckoning that the only means to draw off the enemy from the ſiege of Gythium. He encamped firſt at Cariæ in the enemy's territory. That very day Gythium was taken; but Philopœmen, being ignorant of it, continued his rout to Barboſthenes, a hill about ten miles from Lacedæmon. Nabis, having recovered Gythium, marched from thence with expedition beyond Lacedæmon, and encamped in Pyrrhus's camp, which he made no doubt the enemy had a deſign to ſeize. Then he went out to meet them. They took up almoſt five miles in length in their march becauſe of the narrowneſs of the way: Their rear was compoſed of cavalry and a conſiderable body of auxiliaries; for Philopœmen expected the tyrant would attack his rear with his mercenary ſoldiers in whom he chiefly confided. Two unforeſeen accidents happening together put him in fear: the one was ſeeing the poſt he aimed at already taken up; the other that he perceived the enemy had fallen on

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his van-guard; where, the way being rocky, he ſaw the enſigns could not be carry'd without a guard of light-armed ſoldiers.

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BUT Philopœmen had great addreſs in marching an army and taking poſts to advantage. This he had ſtudied not only in times of war, but even in peace. When he was travelling any where, and had come to a defile where the paſſage was difficult, he examined the nature of it narrowly. If he was alone he conſidered with himſelf, or if in company aſked their advice, 'what courſe ſhould be taken, in caſe 'an enemy ſhould appear, and attack them in front, 'flanks or rear? If it was beſt to meet them in or-'der of battle, or in a diſorderly manner and only 'fit for a march? What ground he ſhould take, he 'diſcovered either by his own reflections or the an-'ſwers of his company: how many troops, what 'kind of arms he ſhould uſe, (for that was very ma-'terial) where he ſhould throw his baggage, effects 'and unarmed men: with how many and what kind 'of men he ſhould guard them; and whether it 'was better to continue his march, or return back 'the way he came. Likewiſe what ground he ſhould 'chuſe for a camp, and how much ſpace he ſhould 'take up with his entrenchments; where a fit water-'ing place and plenty of forage and wood were; 'which would be the ſafeſt rout to take after de-'camping next day; and what ſhould be the order 'of his march.' With ſuch reflections he had exerciſed his mind from his infancy, ſo that he was never to ſeek for expedients when in danger. On the preſent occaſion he firſt of all formed his troops. He poſted the Cretan auxiliaries, and the Tarentine cavalry, each having two horſes, in the van, ordering the cavalry to ſupport them, and then ſeized a rock above a ſtream from whence he could get water. There he placed all his baggage and ſutlers under a guard, and threw up as good lines round them as the nature of the place would admit. It was a difficult matter to pitch tents in ſuch craggy and uneven

places.

places. The enemy was about half a mile from him. They both watered from the ſame river with a guard of light-armed men; and before they could come to a ſkirmiſh, (which commonly happens when camps are near one another) night came on. But it appeared that next day their detachments, going to the ſame ſtream for water, muſt come to blows. In the night time Philopœmen poſted in a valley on the other ſide, without ſight of the enemy, as great a number of targetiers as the place could contain without being diſcovered.

AT break of day the light-armed Cretans and Tarentine horſe ſkirmiſhed at the brook. Latemnaſtus a Cretan commanded his countrymen, and Lycortis of Megalopolis the cavalry. Cretans, and the ſame kind of Tarentine horſe which were in the enemy's ſervice, guarded their waters. For ſome time the battle was doubtful, being between the ſame ſort of men, uſed to the ſame weapons. In the proceſs of the ſkirmiſh, the tyrant's auxiliaries got the advantage by their numbers. Philopœmen had ordered his captains to make but a faint reſiſtance, that they might draw the enemy into the ambuſh by a pretended flight. But the enemy purſued them in ſuch diſorder through the valley, that great numbers of them were killed or wounded before they came in ſight of the troops that lay in ambuſh. The cetrati were poſted in ſuch a manner, as far as the breadth of the valley would permit, that they could eaſily receive thoſe who were retreating into the ſpaces between their ranks. Then they roſe up freſh, vigorous and in good order, and charged the enemy who were broken, diſperſed and wearied with fatigue and wounds. Their ſucceſs was anſwerable; for the tyrant's ſoldiers immediately turned their backs, and flying almoſt as faſt as they had purſued, were driven to their camp. Many were killed and taken in the purſuit, and the camp would likewiſe have been alarmed, if Philopœmen had not ordered a retreat to be ſounded, fearing the rocky and uneven ground, in caſe he ſhould advance

CHAP. XXIX.

CHAP. XXIX. raſhly, more than the enemy. Then judging both from the event of the battle and the diſpoſition of the general, what a fright he muſt then be in, he ſent one of the auxiliaries, under the appearance of a deſerter, to aſſure him, that the Achæans had reſolved to advance the next day to the river Eurotas, which almoſt waſhes the walls of Lacedæmon, to ſtop his paſſage and prevent his retreating to the city when he had a mind, and proviſions from being carry'd from it to the camp. He was alſo ordered to prevail with as many as he could, to deſert the tyrant. The report of the deſerter was not much credited, but it afforded the tyrant, who was in a terrible panic, a ſpecious pretext to quit his camp. Next day he ordered Pythagoras, with the auxiliaries and cavalry, to guard the entrenchments, while he himſelf marched out with the flower of the army, as if to fight the enemy, but ſoon ordered them to take their rout towards the city.

CHAP. XXX. PHILOPŒMEN, ſeeing it march with great expedition through the ſteep defile, detached all his cavalry and Cretan auxiliaries to attack the troops left to guard the camp. They, perceiving the enemy at hand, and that they were deſerted by their companions, at firſt endeavored to get into their camp; but when the whole Achæan army advanced towards them in order of battle, for fear leſt their lines ſhould be forced and they taken, they reſolved to follow their own army which had got a little before them. Immediately the Achæan cetrati aſſaulted the camp and pillaged it. The reſt purſued the fugitives. The way was ſo difficult that an army could hardly paſs though free from all fear of an enemy. But when the ſkirmiſhing began in the rear, and their terrible cries reached the front, every one ſhifted for himſelf, threw down his arms and fled into the adjacent woods. In a moment's time the paſſage was ſtopt up with the heaps of weapons, eſpecially ſpears, which for the moſt part falling with their points to the enemy, ſtop up the way like an intrenchment. Philopœmen, hav

in

ing ordered the auxiliaries to continue the purſuit the beſt way they could, ſince the enemy's horſe could hardly eſcape, he himſelf led on the reſt of the army with the baggage by a more patent road towards the river Eurotas. There he encamped about ſun ſet, and waited for his light-armed troops whom he had detached in the purſuit. They came up about the firſt watch, and informed him, that the tyrant with ſome few had got into the town, but the reſt of the multitude were diſperſed and ſtraggling through the foreſt without their arms. Upon this he ordered them to take ſome refreſhment, while he directly led forth the choice of the reſt of the army, who having come ſooner into the camp were refreſhed both with victuals and moderate reſt. They carry'd nothing with them but ſwords, and he poſted them in the ways leading from two of the city gates towards Pheræ and Barboſthenes, by which he believed the enemy would make their retreat. Nor was he deceived. For the Lacedæmonians, as long as any light remained, retreated by ſtraggling paths into the middle of the foreſt. But in the duſk ſpying fires in the enemy's camp, they kept on the oppoſite ſide to them through hidden paſſages. As ſoon as they got beyond the camp, thinking themſelves in ſafety, they went down into the high roads. There falling in with the enemy that lay in ambuſh, ſo many were killed and taken every where, that ſcarce a fourth part of the whole army eſcaped. Philopœmen, having ſhut up the tyrant in the city, ſpent almoſt a month in ravaging Laconia. Having hereby weakened and almoſt broken Nabis's force, he returned home. The Achæans equalled him in military glory to Flamininus the Roman general, and with reſpect to the Laconian war even preferred him. CHAP. XXX.

WHILST the war continued between the Achæans and the tyrant, the Roman envoys viſited the cities of the allies, fearing the Ætolians had prevailed on ſome of them to join Antiochus. They gave themſelves very little trouble about going to the Achæans, CHAP. XXXI.

CHAP. XXXI.

becauſe they imagined their reſentment to Nabis would induce them faithfully to adhere to them in other reſpects. They went firſt to Athens, then to Chalcis, and from thence into Theſſaly: and having harangued the Theſſalians at a numerous diet, they proceeded to Demetrias: There a diet of the Magneſians was ſummoned to meet. They were obliged to be more cautious in their diſcourſes here, becauſe ſeveral of the chiefs were alienated from the Romans, and entirely devoted to the intereſts of Antiochus and the Ætolians. For they had been informed that Philip's ſon, who was an hoſtage at Rome, was to be reſtored to him, the whole tribute impoſed on him to be remitted, and, among other falſe rumors, that the Romans would put him again in poſſeſſion of Demetrias. But rather than this ſhould happen, Eurylochus chief of the Magneſians, and ſome of his faction, choſe to fall in with the new ſcheme of bringing in Antiochus and the Ætolians. Great dexterity was neceſſary in reaſoning them out of theſe groundleſs apprehenſions, for fear of alienating Philip, by depriving him of his hopes, and his friendſhip was of greater importance in every reſpect, than that of the Magneſians. They only put them in mind, 'That 'all Greece was indebted to the Romans for their li- 'berty, but eſpecially their city. For the Macedo- 'nian had not only a gariſon in it, but had built a 'palace there, that they might have a maſter always 'in their view. But what the Romans had done 'would be to no purpoſe, if the Ætolians ſhould in- 'troduce Antiochus into the palace of Philip, and 'they have a new and unknown king inſtead of an 'old and tried one.' The chief magiſtrate, called nagnetarches, at that time was Eurylochus, who, elated with his power, inſiſted that he and the Magneſians ought not to diſſemble the common report, about reſtoring Demetrias to Philip. But they would run any riſque to prevent that. In the heat of his ſpeech he imprudently dropt, 'That even then De- 'metrias had only the appearance of liberty, but in

'reality the Roman nods determined every thing 'there.' Theſe words raiſed a murmur amongſt the members, ſome approving, and others inraged at his daring to utter them. Quinctius was ſo exaſperated, that lifting up his hands towards heaven, he called the Gods to witneſs the ungrateful and treacherous ſentiments of the Magneſians. This expreſſion made the whole aſſembly tremble. Zeno, one of the chiefs, of great authority, on account of his integrity and being always firmly attached to the Romans, with tears beg'd of Quinctius and the other ambaſſadors, 'Not to impute the frantic words 'of one man to the whole ſtate. Every man is 'anſwerable for his own phrenzy. As to the Mag-'neſians, they are ſenſible they owe not only their 'liberty, but all that men account ſacred and valu-'able to T. Quinctius and the Romans: Mortals 'could aſk nothing more of the immortal Gods, 'than what we have obtained from you; and we 'will ſooner vent our fury on our own bodies, than 'break our alliance with Rome.' This ſpeech was ſeconded by the prayers of the multitude. CHAP. XXXI.

EURYLOCHUS fled from the diet by private ways to the gate, and from thence directly to the Ætolians, who diſcovered their intention to revolt more and more every day. It happened, that Thoas chief of their nation, whom they had ſent to Antiochus, returned about that time, with Menippus in quality of ambaſſador from the Syrian. Before a council could meet to give them audience, they had filled the ears of all men with accounts of their forces by ſea and land: That a great number of foot and horſe was coming. That elephants had been brought from India: but above all (what they believed would have moſt influence on the minds of the multitude) that the Syrian was bringing gold enough to purchaſe even the Romans themſelves. It was evident that ſuch diſcourſes would prejudice the diet; for the Roman ambaſſadors had intelligence of their arrival, and proceedings. And though the caſe was CHAP. XXXII.

CHAP. XXXII.

almoſt deſperate, yet Quinctius reaſonably thought it would be proper to have ſome of the allies deputies preſent at that diet, to put the Ætolians in mind of the Roman alliance, and ſpeak their minds freely in oppoſition to the king's ambaſſador. The Athenians ſeemed the fitteſt for that purpoſe, both on account of the dignity of their city, and their ancient alliance with the Ætolians. Therefore Quinctius deſired them to ſend deputies to the general diet of Ætolia. In that aſſembly Thoas firſt made a report of his embaſſy. After him Menippus being introduced, ſpoke thus, 'It had been happy 'for all the inhabitants of Greece and Aſia, if An-'tiochus had join'd Philip, when his affairs were in a 'proſperous ſtate; for in that caſe every one would 'have enjoyed his own, and all things would not 'have fallen under the power and domination of 'the Romans. But even yet, ſays he, if you con-'tinue ſtedfaſt in the proſecution of the plan, you 'have formed, it may be in the power of Antio-'chus, through the aſſiſtance of the Gods, and alli-'ance with the Ætolians, to reinſtate Greece, though 'in a declining condition, to their ancient dignity. 'For that ſtate alone enjoys liberty, which ſubſiſts 'by it's own ſtrength, and does not depend on the 'pleaſure of another.' The Athenians, who next after the king's ambaſſadors were allowed to ſpeak their ſentiments freely, without making the leaſt mention of the Syrian, admoniſhed the Ætolians of their alliance with the Romans, and the obligations all Greece lay under to T. Quinctius. 'Then they 'beg'd they would not break through it by too 'haſty reſolutions. Bold and haſty deſigns were 'agreeable at the firſt appearance, but difficult in 'the execution, and attended with lamentable con-'ſequences. The Roman ambaſſadors, and among 'them T. Quinctius, were not far off. Before they 'came to extremities, it would be better to termi-'nate thoſe matters in diſpute by conferences, than 'arm Europe and Aſia to a deſtructive war.'

THE

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE multitude, always fond of changes, was entirely devoted to Antiochus, and were of opinion that the Romans ought not even to be admitted into the council. But the chief men, eſpecially ſuch as were of advanced age, by their authority prevailed to have an audience granted them. The Athenians bringing back this decree, Quinctius thought proper to go into Ætolia. He flattered himſelf that he would either make ſome impreſſion on them, or at leaſt ſhew the whole world, that the Ætolians were the ſole authors of the war: and that the Romans were forced to take up arms from motives of juſtice. After his arrival he gave the diet a detail of the alliance between the Ætolians and Romans from its original, and how often they had violated their faith; and then made a ſhort ſpeech about the rights of the cities that were in diſpute. 'But 'if you believe, ſaid he, that you have equity on 'your ſide, how much better would it be to ſend 'ambaſſadors to Rome, either to debate the matter, 'or petition the ſenate; than like incendiaries to 'involve the Romans in a war with Antiochus, 'which would raiſe the whole world, and terminate 'in the ruin of Greece? None will feel the calami-'ties of that war ſooner than you, who have fo-'mented it.' The Roman's prophecies were to no purpoſe. For Thoas and the reſt of that faction, being heard with univerſal applauſe, prevailed to have a decree paſs'd, even before the diet was adjourned and the Romans withdrawn, for calling in Antiochus to deliver Greece, and determine the differences between the Ætolians and Romans. To this ſo haughty a decree Damocritus their prætor added a peculiar affront of his own: For when Quinctius demanded a copy of the decree, without having any regard to the dignity of his perſon, he ſaid, 'We have more important buſineſs to diſpatch 'at preſent, but in a ſhort time will give you the 'decree and an anſwer in Italy, when we are en-'camped on the banks of Tiber.' Such a fury at that

that time poſſeſſed the Ætolian nation and their magiſtates.

CHAP. XXXIV. QUINCTIUS and the ambaſſadors returned to Corinth. The Ætolians, that they might not ſeem of themſelves to take any ſtep in favor of Antiochus, but quietly expect his arrival, from that time held no general diet of the whole nation after the Romans were diſmiſſed; nevertheleſs their apocleti, (ſo they call the more ſecret council, which is compoſed of ſelect deputies) deliberated on proper meaſures to bring about a revolution in Greece. It appeared in general, that the chief and beſt men in the ſeveral ſtates, were well affected to the Romans, and ſatisfied with their preſent condition: But the multitude, and thoſe who were diſcontented, were deſirous of a thorough charge. The Ætolians in one day formed a deſign which was not only bold, but even impudent; to ſeize Demetrias, Chalcis and Lacedæmon. They ſent one of their principal men to each of them: Thoas to Chalcis, Alexamenus to Lacedæmon and Diocles to Demetrias. This laſt was aſſiſted by Eurylochus the exile, of whoſe flight and the cauſe of it we have ſpoken already, becauſe he had no other hopes of being reinſtated in his native country. Eurylochus wrote to his acquaintance and friends, and thoſe who were of his faction, to deſire his wife and children to preſent themſelves in mourning and in a ſuppliant manner, before a numerous aſſembly, and petition them in general and one by one, not to ſuffer an innocent and uncondemned perſon to end his days in exile. The ſimply honeſt among them being moved with pity, and the wicked and ſeditious entertaining hopes of embroiling affairs by the troubles of Ætolia, each ſingly voted for his being recalled. This preparatory point being gained, Diocles, (who was at that time general of the horſe) ſet out with all the cavalry on pretence of reinſtating his exiled gueſt, and made long marches both day and night. When he was within ſix miles of the town, at day break he went

went before with three choice troops, commanding the reſt of the cavalry to follow. As he approached the gate, he ordered them all to alight, and lead their horſes by the reins, without obſerving any order, as if they had been on a journey, that it might rather ſeem to be the general's retinue than a guard. Leaving one of the troops at the gate, that the cavalry following might not be ſhut out, he took Eurylochus by the hand and led him through the middle of the city and the market place, to his own houſe, amidſt the acclamations and gratulations of a great number of people. By and by the town was full of horſemen, and the proper poſts ſecured. Then they ſent to kill the chiefs of the oppoſite faction in their own houſes. CHAP. XXXIV.

THUS Demetrias fell into the hands of the Ætolians. As for Lacedæmon the town was not to be taken by force, but the tyrant to be catcht with guile. Being deprived of his maritime towns by the Romans, and at that time coop'd up even within it's walls by the Achæans, whoever ſhould firſt take him off, would have the good will of the Lacedæmonians on that account. They had a pretence for ſending to him, becauſe he importuned them, 'to 'ſend auxiliaries to him, as he had revolted at their 'inſtigation.' A thouſand foot were given to Alexamenus, and 30 horſemen choſen from amongſt the youth. Theſe were charged by the prætor, Damocritus, in the ſecret council of the nation, of which we have ſpoken above, 'Not to think themſelves ſent to the Achaic war, or any affair 'which any of them might conceive in his mind 'beforehand: Whatever ſudden reſolution Alexamenus might take when occaſion offered, they 'ſhould be ready, obediently, to put in execution, however ſudden, raſh or bold it might be; 'and ſhould conſider it as the only thing, for 'which they knew themſelves to have been ſent 'from home.' With theſe men thus prepared Alexamenus came to the tyrant, and his arrival CHAP. XXXV.

CHAP. XXXV.

val immediately filled him with hopes: 'Antiochus, 'said he, has already passed into Europe, and will 'quickly be in Greece; he will fill both sea and 'land with men and arms. The Romans will find 'they have not to do with Philip. The Syrian's 'infantry, cavalry and ships are innumerable: the 'very sight of his army of elephants will terminate 'the war. The Ætolians are ready to come to La-'cedæmon with their whole army as soon as you 'need their aid; and would have sent them at pre-'sent, only they desired to make a numerous ap-'pearance with their troops upon the king's arrival. 'You yourself must take care not to suffer what 'forces you have to be enervated with inactivity, 'under roofs, but draw them out, and cause them 'to perform military exercises, both to whet their 'courage, and exercise their bodies. Practice will 'render fatigue easier to them, and it may even be 'rendered a diversion by the kindness and huma-'nity of the general.' From that time they began to be frequently exercised in a plain before the town near the river Eurotas. The tyrant's body guards were commonly posted in the centre. The tyrant with three attendants at the most, of which number Alexamenus usually was one, rode before the lines, surveying the extremity of the wings. In the right wing were the Ætolians, both those who were in the tyrant's service before, and the 1000 who had come with Alexamenus. Alexamenus used to ride sometimes through the ranks, close by the tyrant's side, who had but few guards, putting him in mind of such things as seemed necessary to be done; and sometimes up to the right wing where his own troops were, and presently after return to the tyrant, as if he had been giving the necessary orders. But that day, which he had appointed for the execution of his design, after he had rode some time close by the tyrant, he went up to his own men, and thus addressed the horsemen that had been sent from home along with him. 'We are now, fellow soldiers, to undertake

'and

'and execute what you were commanded punctual- CHAP.
'ly to perform under my direction. Prepare your XXXV.
'minds and right hands, that none fail in doing
'what he ſees me do. Whoever ſhall heſitate, or
'diſobey my orders, let him know, he muſt never
'return to his native country.' They were all ſeiz-
ed with horror, and called to mind the orders they
received at ſetting out. The tyrant was then com-
ing from the left wing: Alexamenus ordered his
horſemen to hold their ſpears low and look on him.
He alſo collected all his courage, as he himſelf had
been confounded at the thoughts of ſo great an en-
terprize. As ſoon as he approached Nabis, he aſſault-
ed him; and running his horſe through brought
him to the ground. Whilſt he was down the horſe-
men diſpatched him. After giving him many blows
upon his coat of mail to no purpoſe, at length the
wounds penetrated to his naked body: and before
he could be aſſiſted from the centre, he expired.

ALEXAMENUS marched in all haſte with CHAP.
his Ætolians to ſeize the palace. Nabis's body guards XXXVI.
were at firſt confounded with fear at ſo daring an
action in view of the whole army; but after they
perceived the Ætolian army march off, they crowd-
ed about the body of the tyrant, and ſtood gazing
upon it, inſtead of acting like body guards and a-
venging his death. Nor would any one of them have
ſtirred, if Alexamenus had ordered them to lay aſide
their arms, till he made them a ſpeech ſuitable to
the occaſion, and had kept a good number of Æto-
lians under arms without doing injury to any one:
but, as it muſt happen in treacherous attempts, every
thing was acted ſo as to haſten the deſtruction of
the traitors. The Ætolian ſhut himſelf up in the
palace, and ſpent a day and a night in ſearching for
the tyrant's treaſures; and his troops, as if they
had taken the town, which they would have been
thought to have delivered, fell to plundering. As
well the unworthineſs of the action, as contempt for
them, encouraged the Lacedæmonians to aſſemble,
and

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and deliberate on the measures proper to be taken. Some said, 'They ought to expel the Ætolians and 'recover their liberty, which they had been de-'prived of under pretext of being reinstated in it.' Others were 'for assuming some one of the royal 'offspring for a pretence, that they might not seem 'to want a leader in the enterprize.' There was a Laconian child of the royal family, who had been brought up with the children of the tyrant: him they mounted on horseback, and taking arms, slaughtered the Ætolians that were straggling about the city. Then they attacked the palace: there they killed Alexamenus with the few who defended it. The rest of the Ætolians who had assembled at Chalcioecon, (a brazen temple of Minerva) were mostly put to the sword. Only a few, throwing away their arms, fled for shelter, some to Tegea, and some to Megalopolis. There they were seized by the magistrates and sold for slaves.

CHAP. XXXVII.

PHILOPŒMEN, receiving advice of the tyrant's death, marched to Lacedæmon, where finding all things in disorder through fear, he assembled the chiefs, and making such a speech to them, as Alexamenus ought to have done, joined the Lacedæmonians to the Achæan body. His business was facilitated by Atilius's happening at the same time to approach Gythium with 24 quinqueremes. About the same time, Thoas by means of Euthymidas (one of the chiefs of Chalcis, who had been expelled by the prevalent faction that adhered to the Roman alliance after the arrival of T. Quinctius, and the ambassadors) and of Herodorus a merchant of Cia[a], who had great credit at Chalcis on account of his riches, prepared those of Euthymidas's faction to betray the city, but had not the same success as Eurylochus had in seizing Demetrias. Euthymidas set out from Athens, (the place he had chosen to reside in) first to Thebæ, and thence to Salganea[b].

[a] Now *Zea*, a little island near *Crete*. [b] Now *Salganico*, on the confines of *Bœotia* between *Anthedon*, and the mouth of the *Ismenus*.

Hero-

Herodorus had at Thronium, not far from thence, in the Malaic gulph, 2000 foot; and Thoas 200 horſe, with about 30 tranſports. He ordered Herodorus to carry over 600 foot in them to the iſland Atalanta[c]; that from thence, when he ſhould perceive the infantry approaching Aulis and Euripus, he might ſail over to Chalcis. He himſelf marched at the head of the reſt of the forces, chiefly by night, with all poſſible expedition towards Chalcis.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

MICTIO and Xenoclides, who at that time had the chief power at Chalcis, after the expulſion of Euthymidas, whether they of themſelves ſuſpected the plot, or it had been diſcovered to them, were at firſt in a conſternation, and thought of nothing but ſaving themſelves by flight. But afterwards when their terror abated, and they conſidered that their flight would be to deſert and betray not only their native country, but alſo the Roman alliance, they took the following reſolution. As it happened at that time the anniverſary feſtival of Diana Amarynthis[a] was celebrating at Eretria, not only by the inhabitants, but multitudes of Caryſtians. They therefore ſent to intreat the Eretrians and Caryſtians: 'To pity 'the misfortunes of thoſe that were born in the ſame 'iſland, have regard to the Roman alliance, and 'not ſuffer Chalcis to fall into the hands of the Æ-'tolians, who would have Eubœa too, if once they 'had Chalcis. The Macedonians were rigorous 'maſters, but the Ætolians would be much more 'intolerable.' Theſe ſtates were moved chiefly by reſpect to the Romans, having lately experienced their valor in war, and juſtice and generoſity after victory. Therefore both armed the flower of their youth and ſent them to Chalcis. The inhabitants left them to defend their walls, and paſſing the Euripus with all their forces, encamped at Salganea. From thence they ſent firſt a trumpet, and then ambaſſadors to the Ætolians to know: 'For what action or

[c] Now *Taland*, cloſe to *Eubœa* over-againſt *Locris*. [a] She was ſo call'd from a quarter of the city called *Amarynthe*.

'ſpeech

CHAP. XXXVIII.

'ſpeech of theirs, they, their allies and friends, were 'come to attack them?' Thoas general of the Ætolians anſwered, 'That they came not to attack 'them, but to deliver them from the Romans. For 'they were now bound in more glittering, but much 'heavier chains than when they had a Macedonian 'gariſon in their citadel.' On the other hand the Chalcidians denied 'they were in ſlavery to any 'people, or ſtood in need of any one's protection.' So the ambaſſadors left the conference, and returned to their countrymen. Thoas and the Ætolians had ſolely depended on ſurprizing them at unawares; but, being unprovided with every neceſſary for open war, and the ſiege of a town fortified by ſea and land, they returned home. Euthymidas when he heard his countrymen were encamped at Salganea, and the Ætolians gone, returned from Thebæ to Athens. And Herodorus, having for ſome days in vain waited attentively for the ſignal from Atalanta, ſent out a ſloop to know the reaſon of their delay: and perceiving the enterprize was laid aſide by his aſſociates, he went back to Thronium from whence he came.

CHAP. XXXIX.

QUINCTIUS likewiſe receiving intelligence of this, in his paſſage from Corinth met king Eumenes cruiſing along the Euripus near Chalcis. They agreed that the king ſhould leave 500 ſoldiers to gariſon Chalcis, and go in perſon to Athens. Quinctius continued his voyage to Demetrias, whither he was bound, reckoning the delivering of Chalcis would be of ſome weight in inclining the Magneſians to renew the alliance with Rome. To protect thoſe of his party, he wrote to Eunomus the prætor of Theſſaly, to put the youth in arms, and detached Villius before him to ſound the Demetrians, being reſolved not undertake the affair unleſs ſome part of them inclined to return to their ancient alliance. Villius anchored at the mouth of the harbor in a quinquereme. Thither the whole multitude of the Magneſians came in crowds. Villius aſked them, 'Whether they choſe he ſhould come to them as

'friends

'friends or as enemies?' Eurylochus, their chief magiſtrate, made anſwer, 'That he was come to them 'as friends: but that he muſt withdraw from the 'harbor, and ſuffer the Magneſians to remain in 'concord and liberty, and not ſolicite the multitude 'under pretext of a conference.' This turned their diſcourſe to a ſcene of altercation, the Roman upbraiding the Magneſians with ingratitude, and foretelling their approaching calamities, while the multitude interrupted him by their clamor, ſometimes blaming the ſenate, and ſometimes Quinctius. So Villius returned without ſucceſs to Quinctius, who ſending orders to the prætor to carry his forces home, returned to Corinth with the fleet. CHAP. XXXIX.

THE affairs of Greece, being interwoven with thoſe of Rome, have, as it were, carried me off my courſe, not ſo much becauſe they were worth relating at large, as on account of their having proved the cauſes of a war with Antiochus. The election of conſuls being over, (for there I made the digreſſion) L. Quinctius, and Cn. Domitius the conſuls ſet out for their provinces: Quinctius to Liguria, and Domitius againſt the Boii. The Boii remained quiet, and their ſenators with their children, and their generals with the cavalry (in all about 1500) ſurrendered themſelves to the conſul. The other conſul ravaged the country of the Ligurians far and wide, and took ſome of their caſtles, where he found not only all kinds of booty and captives, but even recovered ſome Roman citizens and allies who had fallen into the enemies hands. This ſame year a colony of 3700 foot, and 300 knights was ſettled at Vibo by a decree of the ſenate and commons. They were conducted thither by Q. Nævius, M. Minucius, and M. Furius Craſſipes. The foot had fifteen acres of land apiece, and the horſemen twice as much. The land had belonged laſt to the Bruttians, who had taken it from the Greeks. About the ſame time Rome was greatly alarmed by two incidents, the one of no great moment, but of long continuance; for the CHAP. LX.

ſhocks of an earthquake were felt for 38 days, during which no buſineſs was tranſacted through anxiety and fear. A ſupplication was made for three days on that account. The other was not a vain alarm, but proved the ruin of many. A fire broke out in the ox market, the houſes towards the Tiber burnt a whole day and night, and all the warehouſes with goods of great value were conſumed.

CHAP. XLI. NOW the year was almoſt ended, and the report of a war with Antiochus, and the anxiety of the fathers on that account, increaſed daily. Therefore they began to deliberate about provinces for the magiſtrates elect, that all of them might be more attentive to their charge. It was decreed that the conſuls ſhould have Italy, and whatever other place the ſenate ſhould think proper, for all men were now certain of the Syrian war. 4000 Roman foot with 300 horſe, and 6000 Latin allies, with 400 horſe were ordered for him to whoſe lot that war ſhould fall. The conſul L. Quinctius was commanded to levy theſe; that there might be nothing to hinder the new conſul from marching immediately, wherever the ſenate ſhould think proper. A decree alſo was paſſed concerning the provinces of the prætors; that the firſt lot ſhould be the two city juriſdictions, namely that over citizens, and that between natives and foreigners. The ſecond ſhould be Bruttium, the third the fleet that was to be ſtationed where the ſenate pleaſed, the fourth Sicily, the fifth Sardinia, and ſixth the Further Spain. Beſides L. Quinctius the conſul was ordered to levy two new legions of Roman citizens, and 20000 Latin foot with 800 horſe. That army was decreed to the prætor, who ſhould have Bruttium for his province. Two temples were dedicated this year to Jupiter Capitolinus. One had been vowed by L. Furius Purpureo the prætor in the Gaulic war; the other by the conſul. Q. Marcius Ralla the duumvir performed the dedication. Many ſevere ſentences paſſed that year againſt uſurers, the curule ædile M. Tuccius,

Tuccius, and P. Junius Brutus being proſecutors againſt private perſons. With the fines exacted from the guilty, gilded chariots were put up in Jupiter's chapel, in the capitol, and above his ſhrine, with twelve gilded ſhields. The ſame ædiles alſo erected a portico without the gate Trigemina amongſt the wood-mongers.

CHAP. LXII.

WHILE the Romans were intent on their preparations for the new war, Antiochus was not idle. Three cities, Smyrna, Alexandria in Troas, and Lampſacus, which he had neither been able to take by force, or prevail with to make an alliance with him upon conditions, ſtopt his progreſs; and he was very unwilling to leave them behind him when he was paſſing into Europe. He was alſo detained with a deliberation about Hannibal's expedition: firſt the open veſſels, which he had intended to ſend with him into Africa, were ſtopt; and then a motion againſt ſending him at all was ſtarted. The chief author of it was Thoas the Ætolian, who having filled all Greece with confuſion, brought advice that Demetrias was at their devotion; and, as he had raiſed the expectations of many in Greece concerning the king by falſly magnifying the number of his forces, ſo likewiſe he buoy'd up the king with hopes in the ſame deceitful manner. He told him 'the 'Greek cities ſent him an unanimous invitation; and 'that there would be a vaſt concourſe on the ſhore, 'when the king's fleet came in view.' This ſame perſon alſo had the boldneſs to draw the king from his reſolution with reſpect to Hannibal, which had been almoſt fixed. For 'he thought it bad policy 'to divide the fleet; and if part of it muſt be ſent 'away, any other perſon was as proper to have the 'command as Hannibal. He was an exile, a Carthaginian, who might form a thouſand new pro'jects every day in effect of his deſperate fortune or 'natural temper. His military glory, which made 'him be looked on as a treaſure, was too great for a 'general under a king. The king alone ought to be

CHAP. XLII.

'regarded, and conſidered as chief and ſole general. 'If Hannibal ſhould loſe a fleet or an army, the damage would be the ſame as if they had been loſt 'by any other captain. But if any thing happened 'ſucceſsfully, the glory thereof would be given to 'Hannibal not to Antiochus. If fortune ſhould 'grant them a complete victory over the Romans, 'what hope was there that Hannibal, who could 'ſcarcely endure being head of his native country, 'would live under the king in ſubjection to a ſingle 'perſon? His behavior from his youth, his extending his ambitious deſires and expectations to the 'empire of the world, made it improbable he would 'endure a maſter in his old age. Antiochus had 'no need of Hannibal as a general; but might make 'uſe of him as a companion and counſellor in the 'war. A moderate benefit from ſuch a genius would 'neither be burdenſom nor uſeleſs. If the higheſt 'things were ſought after they would over-ſet both 'the giver and receiver.'

CHAP. XLIII.

NO ſpirits are more ſuſceptible of jealouſy, than thoſe who have not a greatneſs of ſoul equal to their birth and fortune: becauſe in that caſe they hate all virtue and merit in other men. Immediately the deſign of ſending Hannibal on an expedition was laid aſide, though it was the only reaſonable project that had been formed in the beginning of the war. Antiochus much elated with the revolt of Demetrias from the Romans to the Ætolians, reſolved no longer to defer his expedition into Greece. Before he ſet ſail, he went up from the ſea coaſt to Ilium, to ſacrifice to Minerva. From thence returning to his fleet he ſailed with 40 decked ſhips, 60 not decked, and 200 ſtore-ſhips laden with proviſions of all kinds, and other warlike ſtores. He firſt made the iſland of Imbrus[a]: from thence he paſſed over to Scyathos[b]. There rendezvouſing his ſhips which had been ſeparated on the ſea, he arrived firſt at Pteleus[c], on the continent. At that place Eurylo-

[a] *Lembro* in the *Ægean* ſea. [b] *Sciato*. [c] *Titleo*.

chus the magnetarch, and the chiefs of the Magne- CHAP.
sians met him from Demetrias. Rejoiced at the XLIII.
numerous appearance they made, the next day he brought his fleet into the harbor of that city. He landed, not far from thence, 10000 foot, 500 horse, and six elephants, a force which would hardly suffice to seize defenceless Greece, much less to sustain a war with the Romans. As soon as the Ætolians heard Antiochus was arrived at Demetrias, they assembled a diet, and passed a decree, inviting him to come amongst them. The king had already set out from Demetrias, because he knew they would make such a decree, and was come as far as Phalera on the Malaic gulph. From thence, having got the decree, he came to Lamia, where he was received by the multitude with loud acclamations, clapping of hands, and other usual expressions of extraordinary joy.

BEING introduced to the diet, not without CHAP.
difficulty, by Phæneas the prætor and the chiefs, XLIV.
and silence made, he began ‘ by excusing himself,
‘ for coming with a force so far inferior to their hopes
‘ and expectations. That it ought to be esteemed the
‘ greatest proof of his zeal for their interest, that he
‘ had without hesitation obeyed the call of their am-
‘ bassadors, notwithstanding the bad season, and with-
‘ out waiting for the necessary preparations: and had
‘ believed, that when the Ætolians saw him, they
‘ would reckon all their safety to be placed in him
‘ alone. However, he would soon abundantly sa-
‘ tisfy the expectations of those also, whose hopes
‘ might seem to be frustrated for the present. For
‘ as soon as the season of the year should be proper
‘ for navigation, he would fill all Greece with arms,
‘ men and horses, and block up all the sea coast
‘ with fleets. He would spare neither expence, pains,
‘ nor danger, till, having delivered them from the
‘ Roman yoke, he should set all Greece at perfect
‘ liberty, and make the Ætolians the chief state in
‘ it. With the armies, provisions of all kinds would

'come from Aſia. For the preſent the Ætolians 'ſhould take care to ſupply his troops with a ſuffi- 'cient quantity of corn and other neceſſaries.'

CHAP. XLV.

THIS ſpeech of the king was received with general applauſe, and then he withdrew. Then a warm debate aroſe between the two chiefs of the Ætolians, Phæneas and Thoas. Phæneas was of opinion, 'they ought to uſe Antiochus as a mediator, and 'arbiter of their differences with the Romans, but 'not as a leader in the war. His arrival and ma- 'jeſty would have more influence than arms in 'bringing the Romans to hearken to reaſon. Men 'would yield many things willingly, to prevent a 'war, which they would not be compelled to by 'force and arms.' Thoas affirmed, 'That Phæne- 'as did not affect peace; but wanted to divert their 'preparations for war, in order that by delay the 'king's ardor might abate, and the Romans have 'time to prepare. For by their frequent embaſſies 'to Rome, and diſputes with Flamininus, they might 'be ſatisfy'd, they would never obtain honorable 'terms from Rome; nor would they have implor- 'ed the aid of Antiochus, if all hopes of that had not 'been cut off. Since that aid had been offered them 'ſooner than they expected, they ought not to 'ſlacken; but rather beſeech the king, that ſince 'himſelf in perſon, (which was of greateſt conſe- 'quence) had come to deliver Greece, he would 'likewiſe ſend for his land and ſea forces. If in 'arms he might obtain ſomewhat; but if unarmed 'he would have no influence with the Romans, ei- 'ther in behalf of the Ætolians or himſelf.' This opinion prevailed, and they voted, that the king ſhould be nominated generaliſſimo, and choſe a council of thirty chiefs, whom he might adviſe with when he had a mind. Thus the diet broke up, and the whole multitude departed every one to his own city.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE next day the king conſulted with their ſelect council, where he ſhould begin the war. It was judged neceſſary to begin with Chalcis, which

had been lately in vain attempted by the Ætolians, as there was more need of expedition in that affair, than of great preparations and vigorous efforts. Accordingly the king croſſed Phocis with 1000 foot, which followed him from Demetrias, and the Ætolian chiefs, having aſſembled a few of their youth, took another rout, and met him at Chæronea[a], with them and ten deck'd ſhips. The king encamped at Salganea, and then with the Ætolian chiefs croſſed the Euripus, and appearing off the port, the magiſtrates and chiefs of Chalcis came out before the gate. A few on both ſides met for a conference. The Ætolians uſed their utmoſt efforts to perſuade them, 'that without renouncing their alliance with the 'Romans, they might enter into friendſhip and alli-'ance with the Syrian. For he had not come into 'Europe for the ſake of war, but to deliver Greece; 'and that in fact, not in mere words and appear-'ance only, as the Romans had done. That no-'thing could be more for the intereſt of the ſtates 'of Greece, than to be in alliance with both at the 'ſame time; becauſe the one would always protect 'and defend them from the injuries of the other. 'In caſe they did not receive the king, they might 'ſee what they had to ſuffer forthwith; the aſſiſt-'ance of the Romans being at a great diſtance, 'while Antiochus their enemy was before their gates, 'and whom they were not able of themſelves to re-'ſiſt.' To this Mictio one of their chiefs replied, 'That he could not conjecture for whoſe deliverance 'Antiochus had left his kingdom and come into 'Europe. For he knew no city in Greece, that ei-'ther had a Roman gariſon, or paid tribute to Rome: 'or that being joined in league with too powerful 'allies, was forced to receive laws from them. 'Therefore the Chalcidians had no occaſion for a 'defender of their liberties, being free; nor of a 'gariſon, ſince they enjoy'd peace and liberty under 'the protection of the Romans. They refuſed nei-

CHAP. XLVI.

[a] Retains it's old name, and ſtood on the confines of *Phocis*, to the weſt of *Coronæa*.

'ther the friendſhip of the Syrian, nor of the Æto-
'lians. But the firſt proof of friendſhip they could
'give them would be to quit their iſland and retire.
'For they were reſolved not only not to receive them
'within their walls, but even not to enter into any
'alliance with them except by the authority of the
'Romans.'

CHAP. XLVII. WHEN this anſwer was reported to the king, who had continued on board, he reſolved for the preſent to return to Demetrias, not having brought a ſufficient ſtrength with him to attempt any thing by force. There, ſince the firſt enterprize had miſcarry'd, he conſulted with the Ætolians what ſtep to take next. It was thought proper to try the Achæans and Amynander king of Athamania. They reckoned the Bœotian nation had been alienated from the Romans ever ſince the death of Brachyllas, and the events conſequent thereupon; and they believed Flamininus was jealous of the glory, which Philopœmen, chief of Achæa, had acquired in the Laconian war. Amynander had marry'd Apamia, daughter of one Alexander of Megalopolis, who giving out that he was deſcended from Alexander the Great, had given his two ſons the names of Philip and Alexander, and his daughter that of Apamia. This royal match induced her elder brother Philip to follow her into Athamania. This youth, who was a vain man, was by Antiochus and the Ætolians put in hopes of the kingdom of Macedonia, as being truly of the royal offspring, if he could but bring over Amynander and the Athamanians to join Antiochus. And this vain promiſe took not only with Philip, but alſo with Amynander himſelf.

CHAP. XLVIII. IN Achaia an audience was granted to the ambaſſadors of the Ætolians and Antiochus in preſence of T. Quinctius at Ægium. The ambaſſador of Antiochus was heard before the Ætolians. He being a vain talker, as moſt princes courtiers are, filled ſea and land with the empty ſound of his words. 'An innumerable body of cavalry, ſaid he, are

'croſſing

CHAP. XLVIII.

'croſſing the Helleſpont into Europe, partly cuiraſ-
'ſiers, with coats of mail, partly archers on horſeback,
'againſt whom nothing is ſufficiently covered, being
'ſureſt of doing execution when the horſe retires. To
'this cavalry (though they alone are able to over-
'throw the armies even of all Europe joined together)
'he added a numerous infantry, and terrify'd them
'with the names of nations ſcarce ever heard of be-
'fore: Dahæ, Medes, Elymæans and Caduſians.
'But all the ports of Greece could not contain the
'fleet, the right wing of which conſiſted of Sido-
'nians and Tyrians, and the left of Aradians and
'Sidetæ from Pamphylia, which nations had never
'been equalled either in ſkill or courage in naval
'affairs. It was to no purpoſe to mention the mo-
'ney and other proviſions of war, for they them-
'ſelves knew that the kingdoms of Aſia always a-
'bounded in gold. Conſequently the Romans would
'not have now to do with a Philip, or an Hanni-
'bal: the latter chief of a ſtate, and the other
'confined within the narrow limits of Macedon, but
'with the powerful king of all Aſia and part of
'Europe. Yet he, though come from the remoteſt
'parts of the eaſt to ſet Greece at liberty, required
'nothing from the Achæans in violation of their
'league with the Romans their former allies and
'friends. For he did not deſire them to take arms
'againſt them along with him, but to remain neu-
'ter; and wiſh both parties at peace as became
'common friends, but not take part in the war.'
Archidamus, the Ætolian ambaſſador, repeated the
ſame demand, 'That they would continue neuter,
'which was the eaſieſt and ſafeſt ſtate, and as ſpecta-
'tors of the war, wait the event of other peoples
'fortunes without running any riſque themſelves.'
Then growing warm by degrees he broke out into
opprobrious language, ſometimes againſt the Romans
in general, and ſometimes againſt Quinctius perſon-
ally, 'calling them ungrates, and upbraiding them
'not only with being indebted to the Ætolians for

'the

'the victory gained over Philip; but even for the
'preservation of their lives, for both he and his
'army were saved by their valor. For what func-
'tion of a general had he discharged in that battle?
'That he had seen him consulting the auspices, sa-
'crificing victims, and making vows to the Gods
'during the battle, as if he had been an augur and
'priest, whilst he was exposing his own person to
'the enmies darts to defend him'.

CHAP. XLIX.

TO this Quinctius replied, 'Archidamus has
'more regard to Antiochus's envoys, in whose hear-
'ing he speaks, than to those to whom he directs
'his speech. You Achæans very well know, that
'all the bravery of the Ætolians consists in words,
'not in actions, and they make a better appearance
'in councils and assemblies, than in the field. There-
'fore Archidamus made but little reckoning of the
'esteem of the Achæans, who, I am satisfied, are
'perfectly acquainted with the character of his na-
'tion, but had boasted of himself to the king's am-
'bassadors, and by their means to the absent king.
'But if any are ignorant of the real motives which
'have join'd Antiochus and the Ætolians in league,
'it evidently appears from the speech of the am-
'bassadors: By deceiving one another, and boast-
'ing of forces which they have not, they have buoy-
'ed up each other with vain hopes: the Ætolians
'are on one side advancing, as you have just now
'heard, that they alone defeated Philip, and pre-
'served the Romans by their valor, and would draw
'over you and the rest of the states and nations to
'their party; and the king, on the other, boasts of his
'clouds of foot and horse, and covers the seas with
'his fleets. Now this very much resembles the supper
'of my Chalcidian host, who was both a polite man,
'and one who knew well how to entertain his guest.
'Being courteously entertained by him about the sum-
'mer solstice, and wondring whence he had such plen-
'ty and variety of venison at that season, the man, not
'vain-glorious like these people, smiled, and told us,

'that

'that variety and ſeeming veniſon was made of pork, CHAP.
'ſerved with different ſauces. This may be fitly ap- XLIX.
'plied to the Syrian's forces, ſo much boaſted of a
'while ago. For the different and unheard of na-
'tions up in arms, Dahæ, Medes, Caduſians and
'Elymæans, are all Syrians, much fitter for ſlaves
'than ſoldiers, ſo ſervile are their ſouls. And I wiſh,
'Achæans, I could repreſent to you the expedi-
'tions of this great king from Demetrias. He re-
'paired firſt to Lamia, and the diet of the Ætolians,
'and then to Chalcis. You would ſee ſcarce the ap-
'pearance of two ſmall legions, and thoſe not com-
'plete, in the Syrian camp; you would ſee this po-
'tent monarch at one time in a manner begging corn
'from the Ætolians to be diſtributed to his ſoldiers;
'at another time borrowing money upon intereſt for
'their pay: now ſtanding at the gates of Chalcis;
'and preſently after, being ſhut out from thence, re-
'turning to Ætolia, after having only viewed the port
'of Aulis and the Euripus. Antiochus has injudi-
'ciouſly believed the Ætolians; and they been daz-
'zled by his vain boaſts. This ought to put you on
'your guard againſt being deceived, and make you
'confide ſolely on the faith of the Romans, of which
'you have ſo often made trial. For as to their ſay-
'ing it will be moſt for your intereſt to ſtand neuter, in
'reality nothing can be more detrimental to your af-
'fairs, for you will become a prey to the conqueror
'without merit or reputation.'

NOR did he ſeem to have made an unreaſonable CHAP.
reply to them both, and it was eaſy for a ſpeech to L.
be received favorably amongſt well-wiſhers. For the diet made no diſpute or doubt, but judged them all enemies or friends to the Achæan nation whom the people of Rome ſhould think fit; and ordered war to be declared both againſt Antiochus and the Ætolians. They likewiſe ſent, by Quinctius's advice, 500 men to reinforce Chalcis, and 500 to Piræeus without delay. For there had like to have been a ſedition at Athens. Some perſons endeavored to draw over

CHAP. L. over the mercenary multitude to Antiochus in hopes of great riches: But Quinctius, being ſent for by thoſe of the Roman party, upon the accuſation of one Leo, condemned and baniſhed Apollodorus. Thus the king's ambaſſadors returned with a melancholy anſwer from the Achæans. The Bœotians returned no certain one, but ſaid, they would conſider of it when Antiochus ſhould come into Bœotia. The Syrian hearing that both the Achæans and king Eumenes had ſent aſſiſtance to Chalcis, thought proper to make haſte to get there firſt, and, if poſſible, intercept their troops on their march. In order to this he detached Menippus with about 3000 ſoldiers, and Polyxenidas with all the fleet. He himſelf a few days after marched with 6000 Syrians, and as many Ætolians as could be got together of a ſudden at Lamia, which were but few. The 500 Achæans and a ſmall detachment from king Eumenes, under the command of Xenoclydes, a Chalcidian, got ſafe over the Euripus, and reached Chalcis before the roads were beſet. About 500 Romans arrived at Hermæum, where the paſſage is from Bœotia to the iſland Eubœa, when Menippus was encamped at Salganea. Mictio, who had been ſent ambaſſador from Chalcis to Quinctius to demand this very aſſiſtance, was with them. He ſeeing the paſſes beſet by the enemies, laid aſide his journey to Aulis, and turned towards Delium, intending from thence to paſs over to Eubœa.

CHAP. LI. DELIUM is a temple of Apollo, by the ſea ſide, five miles diſtant from Tanagra [a]. The paſſage by ſea from thence to the neareſt parts of Eubœa is about four miles. On this conſecrated ground and grove, places held as ſacred as the temples which the Greeks call aſyla: and as war was neither proclamed or begun (ſo far as to have heard of ſwords drawn or blood ſhed any where) the ſoldiers, having no employment, went ſome to look at the temple and grove, others ſtraggled about the ſhore without their arms, and great numbers diſperſed through the fields

[a] Now *Anatoria*, five miles from the *Euripus*, on the banks of the *Aſopus*.

for

for wood and forage. In this ſituation Menippus fell on them all of a ſudden, killed a great number, and took about fifty priſoners. A few eſcaped, amongſt whom was Mictio, who got on board a ſmall tranſport. This accident, as it vexed the Romans and Quinctius for the loſs of their ſoldiers, ſo it ſeemed to give them a better right to make war upon the Syrian. Antiochus approached Aulis with his army, and ſent ſome Syrians and ſome Ætolians to the Chalcidians, to make them the ſame propoſals they had done before with heavier menaces. Theſe, notwithſtanding the efforts Mictio and Xenoclydes uſed to prevent it, eaſily obtained leave to have the gates opened to him. Thoſe of the Roman party quitted the town upon the Syrian's approach. The ſoldiers of the Achæans and Eumenes held Salganea; and a few Roman ſoldiers fortified the caſtle on the Euripus with a deſign to defend it. Menippus undertook the ſiege of Salganea, and the king in perſon that of the caſtle of Euripus. The Achæan ſoldiers and thoſe of Eumenes firſt capitulated for liberty to depart without moleſtation. The Romans defended Euripus with more obſtinacy, nevertheleſs as they were blocked up by ſea and land, and perceived the ordnance and warlike engines going to be applied, they did not think fit to endure a ſiege. The king being now in poſſeſſion of the capital of Eubœa, the reſt of the towns upon the iſland ſubmitted to him. He thought the reduction of ſo great an iſland, and ſo many convenient towns, a glorious beginning of the war. CHAP. LI.

BOOK XXXVI.

Manius Acilius Glabrio, the conſul, aſſiſted by Philip, defeats Antiochus at Thyrmopylæ, and drives him out of Greece. He reduces the Ætolians. P. Corn. Scipio Naſica dedicates the temple of the mother of the Gods, whom he himſelf, being judged by the ſenate the moſt virtuous man in the ſtate, had carry'd to mount Palatine. He defeats the Boii, accepts their ſurrendry, and triumphs for them. Beſides this book contains an account of ſeveral naval victories gained over Antiochus.

THE

CHAP. I.

P. Scipio, M. Acilius, conſuls. Y. of R. 561. B. J. C. 191.

THE new conſuls, P. Scipio Naſica and M. Acilius Glabrio, having entered into office, the ſenate ordered, that before the allotment of their provinces ſhould be brought on the carpet, religious affairs ſhould be determined; the larger ſacrifices ſhould be offered in all the temples, in which the lectiſternium uſed to be performed for the greater part of the year: and whereas the ſenate intended a new war, ſupplications ſhould be made to the Gods, to vouchſafe ſucceſs to the ſenate and Roman people in the enterprize. All theſe ſacrifices were propitious: when the firſt victims were ſlain, the haruſpices declared, that by this war the bounds of the Roman empire would be extended, and that they prognoſticated victory and triumph. Theſe favorable reſponſes having diſpelled all their ſuperſtitious fears, the fathers ordered a motion to be made to the people, to know 'their pleaſure concerning declaring war againſt An-'tiochus and all who adhered to him. If they ſhould 'approve the motion, they ſhould then determine, 'whether the conſuls, if they thought proper, ſhould 'refer the matter entirely to the ſenate.' P. Cornelius made the motion, and the people agreed to it. In conſequence the ſenate decreed, that the conſuls ſhould caſt lots for Italy and Greece to be their provinces. He to whom the latter ſhould fall, ſhould receive the army which the prætor M. Bæbius by order of the ſenate had tranſported into Macedonia the preceding year, beſides that which L. Quinctius by authority from the fathers had levy'd on purpoſe for that province. He had alſo power to tranſport auxiliaries of the allies, if he thought it neceſſary, provided they did not excede 5000. Quinctius conſul of the former year was commiſſioned to ſerve as lieutenant in that war. The other conſul, to whom the province of Italy ſhould fall, was ordered to make war on the Boii, and had his choice of the two armies commanded by the preceding conſuls: the other he was to ſend to Rome, that the city legions might be ready to be ſent on whatever expedition the ſenate ſhould think fit.

THE

THE ſenate having finiſhed their acts relating to the provinces, which were ſtill to be determined, the conſuls were ordered to draw lots. Greece fell to Acilius, and Italy to Cornelius. When the provinces were thus aſcertained, the ſenate paſſed a decree, 'that ſince the Roman people had ordained war to 'be declared againſt Antiochus and all ſubject to 'him, the conſuls ſhould appoint ſupplications on 'that account: and that Acilius ſhould vow the 'great games in honor of Jupiter, and carry preſents 'to all the ſhrines.' Accordingly the conſul made that vow in the following form of words dictated by P. Licinius the pontifex maximus, 'If the war, which 'the Roman people have ordered to be entered into 'with king Antiochus, ſhall be terminated to the 'wiſh of the Roman ſenate and people, then, O Ju'piter, the Roman people ſhall for ten ſucceſſive 'days celebrate the great games in thy honor; and 'preſents of money, as large as the ſenate ſhall de'termine, ſhall be offered at all the ſhrines. The ma'giſtrate for the time being, when theſe games ſhall 'be celebrated, ſhall take care it be done according 'to due form.' Then both conſuls appointed a ſupplication for two days. After the conſuls had drawn lots for their provinces, the prætors did the ſame for theirs. Brutus got the juriſdiction of the city and foreigners; Mammula, Bruttium; Lepidus, Sicily; Oppius, Sardinia; Livius, the fleet; and Æmilius, Further Spain. The armies were aſſigned in the following manner. A. Cornelius had the troops, which Quinctius the conſul had levy'd the preceding year by appointment of the ſenate, and was ordered to guard all the coaſt about Tarentium and Brundiſium. Beſides the army, which Paullus was to receive from M. Fulvius the pro-prætor, he was to lead into Further Spain 3000 recruits, one third of which was to be Romans, and the other two Latins. An equal number was ſent to C. Flaminius, who was continued in his command of Hither Spain. Lepidus was ordered 'to ſuccede L. Valerius in the command of 'his

CHAP. II.

CHAP. II.

'his army and province, and to keep Valerius, if 'he pleaſed, in quality of pro-prætor, and to divide 'the province between them ſo, as the one ſhould act 'between Agrigentum and Pachynum, and the o-'ther between Pachynum and Tyndaris. Valerius 'ſhould protect that coaſt with twenty ſhips of war.' The ſame prætor was alſo order'd to raiſe two tenths of the corn of his province and export it into Greece. Oppius was ordered to do the ſame in Sardinia, only he was to ſend the corn to Rome. C. Livius, who had got the command of the fleet, was ordered to ſail with all expedition into Greece with thirty ſhips of war, which he was to receive ready equipped from Atilius. Junius was ordered to refit the old veſſels that were in the docks, and to man them with ſailors that had been enfranchized.

CHAP. III.

THREE commiſſioners were ſent to buy up corn in Carthage and Numidia to be ſent to Greece: The public engaged to pay for it. Beſides the ſtate was ſo careful to prepare every thing neceſſary for this war, that the conſul Cornelius iſſued an edict, forbidding 'all the ſenators, ſuch as had a right to 'vote in the ſenate, and the inferior magiſtrates, not 'to go ſo far from Rome, that they could not return 'to it the ſame day; and not above five ſenators to 'be abſent from it at the ſame time.' A conteſt a-riſing between Livius and the maritime colonies, retarded the equipping the fleet for a ſhort time. For the people he impreſſed appealed to the tribunes, who referred them to the ſenate. To make every one of them ſubmit, the ſenate enacted that none of them ſhould enjoy an exemption from ſea ſervice. The conteſt the prætor had was with the colonies of Oſtia, Fregenæ, New Caſtrum, Pyrgos, Antium, Terracina, Minturnæ and Sinueſſa. Then the conſul Acilius adviſed, by order of the ſenate, with the college of feciales, 'whether the war were to be declared againſt 'Antiochus by word of mouth, or it ſufficed to intimate it to one of his fortify'd cities; and whether 'it was neceſſary to declare war ſeparately againſt the Ætolians:

'Ætolians: and if they ſhould renounce their amity 'and alliance before they declared war?' The feciales anſwered, 'that they had formerly declared, when 'they were conſulted about the war with Philip, that 'it was a thing indifferent, whether it was done by 'word of mouth or intimated to one of his gariſoned 'towns. They were of opinion that the alliance was 'renounced by the Ætolians, when they refuſed to 'make reparation for injuries when demanded. They 'had declared war themſelves, when they forcibly 'took poſſeſſion of Demetrias a city in alliance with 'the Romans: they had attacked Chalcis by ſea and 'land, and brought Antiochus into Greece to make 'war on the Romans.' When every neceſſary preparation was made, Acilius iſſued an order 'for all the 'troops which L. Quinctius had levy'd, all the La-'tins that were to go into his province, and the tri-'bunes of the firſt and third legions, to rendezvous 'at Brundiſium againſt the fifteenth of May.' He himſelf quitted the city in his paludamentum on the third of that month. The prætors went into their provinces at the ſame time. CHAP. III.

ABOUT the ſame time ambaſſadors arrived from Philip, and Ptolemy king of Ægypt, promiſed to aſſiſt the Romans in the war with money and corn. Ptolemy's alſo brought with them 1000 pound weight of gold, and 20000 of ſilver: None of their offers were accepted, but they had the thanks of the ſenate. And though they both had ſtipulated to march their whole troops into Ætolia, and aſſiſt in the war, Ptolemy was excuſed, and Philip's deputies anſwered, that the ſenate and people would take it as a favor, if he would not be wanting to aſſiſt the conſul Acilius. Ambaſſadors alſo arrived from the Carthaginians and Maſiniſſa. The former promiſed 1000000 modius's of wheat, 500000 of barley, half of which they would ſend to Rome, praying the Romans to accept that preſent from them. They would equip a fleet at their own expence, and beſides pay them the tribute which they were to diſcharge at different CHAP. IV.

terms and in many years. Maſiniſſa's deputies promiſed that their maſter ſhould ſend 500000 modius's of wheat and 300000 of barley to the army in Greece, 300000 of the former and 250000 of the latter to Rome, and 500 horſe and 20 elephants to Acilius. As to the corn the Romans anſwered both, that they would accept of it, if they were allowed to pay for it. The Carthaginians were excuſed from ſending a fleet, and even the ſhips they were obliged to furniſh by treaty; and as to the tribute they would not accept it till the legal day of payment.

CHAP. V.

DURING theſe tranſactions at Rome, Antiochus did not remain idle in his winter quarters at Chalcis. He ſolicited ſeveral cities, either in perſon or by his envoys, to make an alliance with him. Several came to him voluntarily; as the Epirotes by unanimous conſent of their nation, and the Eleans from Peloponneſus. The latter aſked aid againſt the Achæans, who, they thought, would firſt attack their city, ſince war was declared againſt Antiochus contrary to their inclinations. The king ſent them 1000 foot under command of Euphanes a Cretan. The ambaſſadors of the Epirotes declared for neither ſide, neither was their ſpeech open and explicite, but ambiguous and obſcure. They earneſtly deſired to conclude an alliance with the king, provided they could have done it without offending the Romans. They begg'd, 'not to be precipitated into a declaration in 'his favor, as they were a barrier to all Greece againſt 'Italy, and would be firſt attacked by the Romans. 'But if he was able to gariſon all Epirus with forces by 'land, and protect it with his fleet by ſea, they would 'very willingly receive him into all their cities and 'ports. But if he was not able to do that, they con-'jured him not to expoſe them naked and defence-'leſs to the Roman arms.' It appeared that the deſign of this embaſſy was, that, if he ſhould keep out of Epirus, which they believed he would, they might preſerve themſelves ſafe from the Roman armies; and

ſatisfy

ſatisfy the king ſufficiently by aſſuring him they would give him a hearty reception if he ſhould come; or, if he ſhould come, they hoped to obtain pardon from the Romans, becauſe, not expecting any ſuccors from them who lay at ſuch a diſtance, they were obliged to ſubmit to a ſuperior force on the ſpot. As the king was embarraſſed for a ready anſwer to this ambiguous embaſſy, he told them he would ſend envoys to them to treat of what was for their mutual intereſt.

CHAP. VI.

THEN he went into Bœotia, which pretended to be incenſed againſt the Romans for the cauſes I have already mentioned [a]; the murder of Brachyllas, and the war made by Quinctius on Coronea for the maſſacre of ſome Roman ſoldiers: But their real motive proceded from the declenſion of their former ſtrict morals for many years, and the preſent circumſtances of many of their people being ſuch, that they could not ſubſiſt long without a revolution. The chiefs of Bœotia met him in great numbers at Thebes. In this diet, notwithſtanding he had already declared war by undoubted acts of hoſtility, having attacked the Roman gariſon at Delium and Chalcis, yet he began with the ſame ſpeech he had made in the former diet at Chalcis, and that his ambaſſadors had uſed in the diet of the Achæans, requiring only that they ſhould enter into an alliance with him without mentioning a declaration of war againſt the Romans. They all clearly perceived the drift of this diſcourſe. However a decree paſſed in his favor againſt the Romans, conceived in ſpecious terms. Having made an alliance with this nation, he ſet out for Chalcis, having ſent letters before him, ſummoning the chiefs of Ætolia to meet him at Demetrias in order to deliberate on the operations of the campaign. He arrived there with his fleet on the day appointed. Amynander was likewiſe ſent for out of Athamania, and Hannibal, who had not been admitted to council for a long time, was preſent at this diet. The firſt ſubject brought

[a] See p. 332. of this vol.

on the carpet, related to the Theſſalians, and all preſent declared for ſounding their inclinations. However they were much divided in opinion, as to the manner of doing it. Some were for executing it immediately, others for delaying it till the beginning of the ſpring, as it was then about the middle of winter; ſome were only for ſending ambaſſadors for that purpoſe, and others for attacking them with all their forces if they heſitated.

CHAP. VII.

THE whole debates having centred in this ſingle point, Hannibal, who was deſired to give his opinion, led the king and all preſent off from it, into his general plan of the war, by the following ſpeech.

'If, ſince our coming into Greece, I had been conſulted when the deliberation was concerning Eubœa, the Achæans and Bœotia, I ſhould have given you the ſame advice, that I now do, when the queſtion is concerning the Theſſalians: It is, that previous to every other ſtep we ſhould ſpare no pains to bring Philip and the Macedonians into our intereſt, upon any terms whatever. For, with reſpect to the Eubœans, Bœotians and Theſſalians, who doubteth, as they are in themſelves weak, but they will always flatter thoſe who are on the ſpot, and uſe the ſame argument, fear, which they ſhew in their diets, to obtain pardon of the Romans, and go over again to their former maſters, as ſoon as they ſee their army in Greece: neither will it be imputed to them as a crime, that they would not try the force of you and your army when you was preſent and the Romans at a great diſtance. How much rather ought we then, nay how much more advantageous will it be for us, to engage Philip in our intereſt? If he ſhall have once declared, he cannot retract his forces; forces which will not be a mere acceſſion of ſtrength only in the Roman war, but which were lately of themſelves able to reſiſt that people. Let us have this prince on our ſide, and (be it ſpoken without offence) how can we doubt of ſucceſs? eſpecially when we attack the

Romans

CHAP. VII.

'Romans with the ſame forces, with which they 'ruined Philip. The Ætolians, who, every body 'knows, defeated Philip, will fight with that prince 'againſt the Romans: Amynander and the Atha-'manians, who next to the Ætolians contributed 'moſt to the ſucceſs of that war, will ſide with us. 'Philip, without your ſtirring, ſupported the whole 'weight of the war at that time: But now two moſt 'powerful kings with all the force of Aſia and Eu-'rope will act againſt a ſingle people, who, not to 'mention the various ſucceſſes of the war I made a-'gainſt them, were not a match in the days of our 'fathers for the king of Epirus, whoſe power could 'never be compared to your's. But ſome may ſay, 'on what ground can I expect that Philip will join 'us? I anſwer, common intereſts, the ſtricteſt bond 'of alliance, and your ſpeech, Ætolians: for Thoas, 'your deputy, amongſt other arguments to induce 'Antiochus to come into Greece, was wont to affirm, 'that Philip was incenſed to the higheſt degree, and 'unable to endure, that under the falſe appearance 'of peace he had got a yoke of real ſlavery impoſed 'on him: He compared the rage of that prince, to 'the fury of a wild beaſt gnawing his chains, and 'attempting to break the bars that cooped him up. 'If this be really his diſpoſition, let us knock off his 'fetters, let us burſt open his priſon, that his rage, 'which has been ſo long reſtrained, may have ſcope 'to vent itſelf againſt our common enemies. If we 'ſhall not be able to perſuade him by an embaſſy to 'join us, yet let us ſpare no pains to keep him from 'aſſiſting our enemies. Antiochus, your ſon Seleu-'cus is now at Lyſimachia; let him with his army 'croſs Thrace, and begin to ravage the adjacent parts 'of Macedonia. By this means Philip will be di-'verted from aſſiſting the Romans, and totally en-'gaged in the defence of his own dominions. Now 'I have given you my advice with reſpect to the 'king of Macedon, you already know my ſenti-'ments as to the general plan of the war. If my firſt

CHAP. VII.

'advice had been taken, the Romans had not received notice of the taking Chalcis in Eubœa, or the ſtorming the caſtle of Euripus, but of Hetruria and the coaſts of Liguria and Ciſalpine Gaul being in flames, and which is the moſt terrible of all, that Hannibal was in Italy. I am likewiſe of opinion that you ought to ſend for all your land forces and ſhips of war hither, followed by ſtore-ſhips with proviſions: for though we are here but few in number with reſpect to the war we are entering into, we are however too many for the quantity of proviſions it can ſupply. When you have drawn together all your forces, you will ſend part of your fleet to Corfu, to prevent the Romans from having a ſafe and free-paſſage, and another to that coaſt of Italy that faces Sardinia and Africa; and go in perſon at the head of your land forces to Bylinus [a]. By this means you will ſecure Greece, make the Romans believe you will invade Italy, nay actually have it in your power to do ſo, if neceſſity requires it. Theſe are my ſentiments; and if I have not abilities and ſkill for other wars, yet certainly I have learned by my various ſucceſs againſt the Romans, in what manner it is neceſſary to make war with them. In the execution of what I have adviſed I promiſe you my faithful and active ſervices. May the Gods ſuccede whatever reſolutions you ſhall take.'

CHAP. VIII.

IN this manner did Hannibal harangue the diet, who at that inſtant approved his advice, but followed in nothing except ſending Polyxenidas to bring the fleet and army from Aſia. Deputies were diſpatched to the diet of the Theſſalians at Lariſſa, and a day appointed for the Ætolians and Amynander to meet the army at Pheræ, whither the king marched immediately at the head of it. While he there waited their coming up, he detached one Philip a Megalopolitan, with 2000 men, to gather up the bones of

[a] A port of *Illyricum* on the weſt of *Macedonia*. The city is now called *Longuetta*, and the country *Albania*.

the

the Macedonians about Cenoſcephalæ, where the war with Philip was determined. This he did either with a view to conciliate the favor of the Macedonians, and create in them a diſlike to their king for leaving his ſoldiers unburied; or from a ſuperficial vanity natural to kings, to do things in ſhow and appearance grand, but mean and fooliſh in reality. He gathered all the ſcattered bones into one huge pile, for which the Macedonians gave him no thanks, and which excited Philip's reſentment. This prince therefore reſolved to regulate himſelf by the determination of fortune, and ſent immediately to inform the prætor Bæbius, that Antiochus had attacked Theſſaly: He offered, if he thought proper, to quit his winter quarters, and meet him to deliberate on the meaſures to be taken. CHAP. VIII.

WHILE Antiochus was encamped before Pheræ, where he had been joined by the Ætolians and Amynander, deputies arrived from Lariſſa, demanding to know, for what offenſive word or deed, he thus committed hoſtilities againſt the Theſſalians; and entreating at the ſame time that he would withdraw his army, and ſend plenipotentiaries to ſettle the points he thought they had offended in. They alſo ſent 500 men under the command of Hippolochus to reinforce the gariſon of Pheræ; but, as Antiochus's troops had blockaded all the avenues to it, they could not get entrance and ſo went to Scotuſſa. The king courteouſly anſwered the deputies, that he had entered Theſſaly not with hoſtile intentions, but with a view to preſerve and eſtabliſh it's liberty. He ſent an ambaſſador to the Pheræans to give them the ſame aſſurances. But without returning him an anſwer they diſpatched Pauſanias the chief man of their ſtate, to the king. This deputy made the ſame remonſtrances, as had been made in favor of the Chalcidians in the ſame circumſtances, in a conference at the ſtraight of Euripus, nay added ſome more bold and ſtrong. But the king diſmiſſed him, only deſiring that they would ſeriouſly ponder the matter, leſt, CHAP. IX.

CHAP. IX.

by being too cautious and provident of futurities, they ſhould take a ſtep which they would ſoon repent. When this anſwer was repeated to the Pheræans, they without the leaſt heſitation reſolved to adhere to their alliance with the Romans, and ſuffer the chance of war. In conſequence they made all poſſible preparations for the defence of their city, while the king attacked it on all ſides at once. As he knew very well (and indeed it was beyond queſtion) that the iſſue of that ſiege which he had firſt undertaken, would either render him contemptible to, or make him be dreaded by all the Theſſalian nation, he uſed every method to ſtrike the Pheræans with terror. They ſuſtained his firſt aſſault with abundance of reſolution; but ſeeing afterwards that many of their men were either killed or wounded, their courage began to fail. Yet the reprimands of their chief men revived it, and they continued in their former reſolution of an obſtinate defence. For want of ſoldiers they quitted the outermoſt fortifications, and retired to the heart of the city, where the rampart was contracted into a leſs circle. At laſt, overcome with calamities, and fearing if they held out till they were taken by ſtorm, that the conqueror would give them no quarter, they capitulated. After this the king, without taking any reſpite, and while the terror was recent, detached 2000 men againſt Scotuſſa. That city, warned by the example of the Pheræans, who notwithſtanding their obſtinate refuſal at firſt, were at laſt obliged by their ſufferings to capitulate, ſoon ſurrendered, and with their city delivered up Hippolochus with his gariſon. The king, believing it would much contribute to gain him the affection of the Lariſſæans, did not offer them the leaſt violence.

CHAP. X.

HAVING made theſe conqueſts in the ſpace of ten days after he lay down before Pheræ, he marched next with his whole army to Cranon [a], and took it on his firſt approach. Then he made himſelf maſter

[a] A city of *Phthiotis*.

CHAP. X.

ſter of Cypæra[b], Metropolis, and ſeveral adjacent caſtles, and no city of that country remained unreduced except Atrax and Gyrto[c]. Then he reſolved to attack Lariſſa, imagining, that terrify'd at the ſtorm of others, or moved by his courteouſly diſmiſſing the gariſons, or by the example of ſo many towns that had voluntarily ſurrendered, it would not make an obſtinate reſiſtance. To ſtrike them with terror he had poſted his elephants in the front, and approached the town with his army form'd in a ſquare battalion. This made the greateſt number of the Lariſſans fluctuate between a dread of their preſent enemies, and regard for their abſent allies. About the ſame time Amynander with the Athamanian youth took Pellinæus[d]. Menippus, alſo, marching into Perrhœbia with 3000 Ætolian foot, and 200 horſe took Mallæa[e], and Cyretia by ſtorm, and ravaged the lands of Tripoli. After theſe ſudden expeditions, they returned to the king before Lariſſa, in time to aſſiſt him with their advice as to the meaſures to be taken againſt that city. The opinions were much divided. As the acceſs to it was eaſy by reaſon of it's ſituation in a plain, ſome were for playing their engines againſt it with fury immediately. Others remonſtrated the ſuperiority of it's ſtrength when compared with Pheræ, and that as it was now winter, it was not a ſeaſon for laying before or attacking towns. As the king fluctuated between hope and fear, his courage was revived by the arrival of deputies from Pharſalus offering to ſurrender their city. In the mean time Bæbius and Philip having had a conference at Daſſaretum, agreed to ſend Ap. Claudius to reinforce Lariſſa. He took long marches croſs Macedonia, and arrived on the tops of the mountains above Gonni, twenty miles from Lariſſa, in the entrance to the foreſt of Tempe. Having taken up more ground for his camp, than

[b] *Epidenus*, in the weſt of *Theſſaly*, the *Peneus*.
[c] *Tachi Volicati*.
[d] In *Æſtiotis*, on the left bank of
[e] In *Pelaſgiotis*.
[f] Now *Molcoluri*, in *Æſtiotis*.

his

his ſmall numbers required, and lighted more fires than were neceſſary, he deceived the enemy into an opinion, that the whole Roman army and Philip were arrived, which was the thing he aimed at. In conſequence Antiochus, pretending to his own army, that the winter was come on, ſtaid but one day, and quitting the ſiege returned to Demetrias. The Ætolians and Athamanians retired into their reſpective countries. Though Appius ſaw the ſiege raiſed, the very end of his coming, yet he marched down to Lariſſa, in order to confirm the reſolution of his allies for the future. It yielded the latter a double pleaſure; for the enemy had quitted their territories, and they ſaw a Roman gariſon within their walls.

CHAP. XI.

FROM Demetrias Antiochus went to Chalcis, where he became enamor'd of a young lady, the daughter of a Chalcidian named Cleoptolemus. At firſt he made others ſpeak to her father, and at laſt teized him himſelf with repeated importunities. Cleoptolemus was averſe to contracting an alliance ſo diſproportion'd to his condition, and conſidering the circumſtances of the king, attended with great danger. However the king gain'd his point, and celebrated his nuptials with as much magnificence, as if he had enjoy'd profound peace. Forgetting all his cares, in particular the two grand enterprizes he had formed, the war with the Romans and deliverance of Greece, he ſpent the reſt of the winter in feaſting and rejoicings. When he was tired rather than ſatiated with theſe pleaſures, he fell into a kind of ſtupefaction. The ſame voluptuouſneſs infected his officers and ſoldiers, in particular the commanders of the winter gariſons in Bœotia. None of them ever were ſeen under arms, or kept watch or guard, or did any duty required of a ſoldier. Accordingly, when early in the ſpring he had croſſed Phocis into Acarnania, where he had appointed the general rendezvous of his troops, he eaſily perceived that the ſoldiers had ſpent the winter as licentiouſly as their general. Then he ordered Alexander the Acarnanian,

nian, and Menippus a Macedonian to march them to Stratus a town of Ætolia. He himſelf after having offered ſacrifices to Apollo at Delphi, went to Naupactus. Here having held a diet of the Ætolians, he met ſuch of his troops as were coming by the Malaic gulph, on the road that leads by Chalcis and Lyſimachia to Stratus. Mneſilochus, a principal Acarnanian, whom the king had won by rich preſents, not only engaged that whole nation, but it's prætor Clytus, who then had the chief management of affairs, to ſide with that prince: likewiſe when he ſaw he could not eaſily induce Leucæ to revolt, for fear of the Roman fleet which lay under command of Atilius at Cephalenia[a], he attempted to gain it by artifice. He inſiſted in their diet, that in order to guard the inland parts of Acarnania, and prevent them from being ſeized by Antiochus and the Ætolians, it was neceſſary that all who could bear arms ſhould quit the town and go to Medio and Thyrium[b]. He was anſwered, that there was no reaſon to move them all tumultuouſly, and a gariſon of 500 men would be ſufficient. Having got that number he ſent 300 of them to the former, and 200 to the latter, deſigning to put them into Antiochus's hands for hoſtages. CHAP. XI.

ABOUT the ſame time deputies from the king arrived at Medio. When their demands were heard the diet began to deliberate about an anſwer. The opinions were divided; ſome were for adhering to the Romans, and others for not rejecting the king's alliance. Clytus's advice ſeem'd a medium, and was acquieſced in, to ſend envoys to the king to beg permiſſion to conſult the general diet of Acarnania on this important point. This deputation was induſtriouſly thrown on Mneſilochus and others of his faction, who, having privately ſent to the king to advance with his troops, ſpun out the time of their departure. They had ſcarce quitted the city when CHAP. XII.

[a] *Cephalonia*, an iſland in the *Ionian* ſea, 20 miles long, and 50 broad.

[b] Both ſituated on the *Achelous*, on the borders of *Ætolia*.

Antiochus

CHAP. XII. Antiochus was in their territories, and ſoon at their gates. Thoſe, who were in the plot, pretended great fear, and call'd their youth to arms in great confuſion, while Clytus and Mneſilochus let him into the city. Some voluntarily flocked round him, and thoſe of the oppoſite faction were obliged to join him. He diſpel'd their dread by a gracious ſpeech, the report of which ſpreading brought over ſeveral ſtates of Acarnania to him, in hopes of being treated with the ſame clemency. From thence he ſet out for Thyrium, having ſent Mneſilochus and the other deputies before. But the treacherous meaſures uſed at Medio, put the Thyrians on their guard without intimidating them. They return'd him an ambiguous anſwer, that they would not contract any new alliance without the authority of the Roman generals, and having ſhut their gates they poſted troops on their walls. Beſides, Cn. Octavius, whom Quinctius had ſent to confirm the affections of the Acarnanians, arrived very ſeaſonably (with a gariſon and a few ſhips of which Atilius had given him the command at Cephalenia) at Leucæ, to revive the hopes of the allies. He told them alſo, that the conſul Acilius had by this time croſſed the ſea with his legions, that the Romans were encamped on Theſſaly. The fitneſs of the ſeaſon for putting to ſea, made this report ſeem very likely to be true, which induced the king to put a gariſon in Medio, and ſeveral other towns of Acarnania, and quit Thyrium. He marched through the cities of Ætolia and Phocis, and returned to Chalcis.

CHAP. XIII. SOME time before Bæbius and king Philip had met during the winter in the country of the Daſſaretians, and ſent Ap. Claudius to raiſe the ſiege of Lariſſa: But finding it then an improper ſeaſon for entering upon action, they had retired again into their winter quarters. Early in the ſpring, however, they join'd their forces and marched into Theſſaly. Antiochus was then in Acarnania. At their firſt coming Philip laid ſiege to Malloea in Perrhœbia,

and

and Bæbius to Phacium [a]. Having reduced it at the first assault, he took Phæstus with the same expedition. Then having returned to Atrax, he took Chiretia and Phricium, and leaving garisons in all the towns he had taken, he went to join Philip before Mallœa. Upon the arrival of the Roman army, the inhabitants either through dread of so great an accession of strength, or in hopes of pardon, surrender'd. Then the ally'd army marched in conjunction to reduce the towns, which the Athamanes had taken, Æginium, Ericinum, Gomphi, Silana, Tricca, Melibœa, and Phaloria. Then they set down before Pellinæus, where Philip the Megalopolitan commanded with a garison of 500 foot, and 40 horse. Before they made an assault, they sent a trumpet to advise Philip, not to hold out to extremities. But he returned this resolute answer, that he would trust himself either with the Romans or Thessalians, but never put himself in the power of Philip. When they saw they must have recourse to force, and that they had strength sufficient to besiege Limnæa at the same time, it was resolved that the king should march thither, and Bæbius remain before Pellinæus. CHAP. XIII.

ABOUT the same time the consul Acilius landed with 10000 foot, 2000 horse, and 13 elephants. He ordered some able legionary tribunes to march the foot to Larissa, and he went in person with the cavalry to join Philip before Limnæa. Upon the consul's arrival the town surrendered without hesitation, delivering up Antiochus's garison with the Athamanians. From thence Acilius marched to Pellinæus. There the Athamanians surrendered first, and then Philip the Megalopolitan. As he was marching away with the garison, Philip having accidentally met him ordered him to be saluted king, out of derision, and coming up to him called him brother, in a jesting manner unbecoming a crown'd head. Then he ordered him to be led in chains to the consul, who not long after sent him bound to Rome. The rest of the Athamanians, and Antio- CHAP. XIV.

[a] On the confines of *Macedonia* and *Thessaly*.

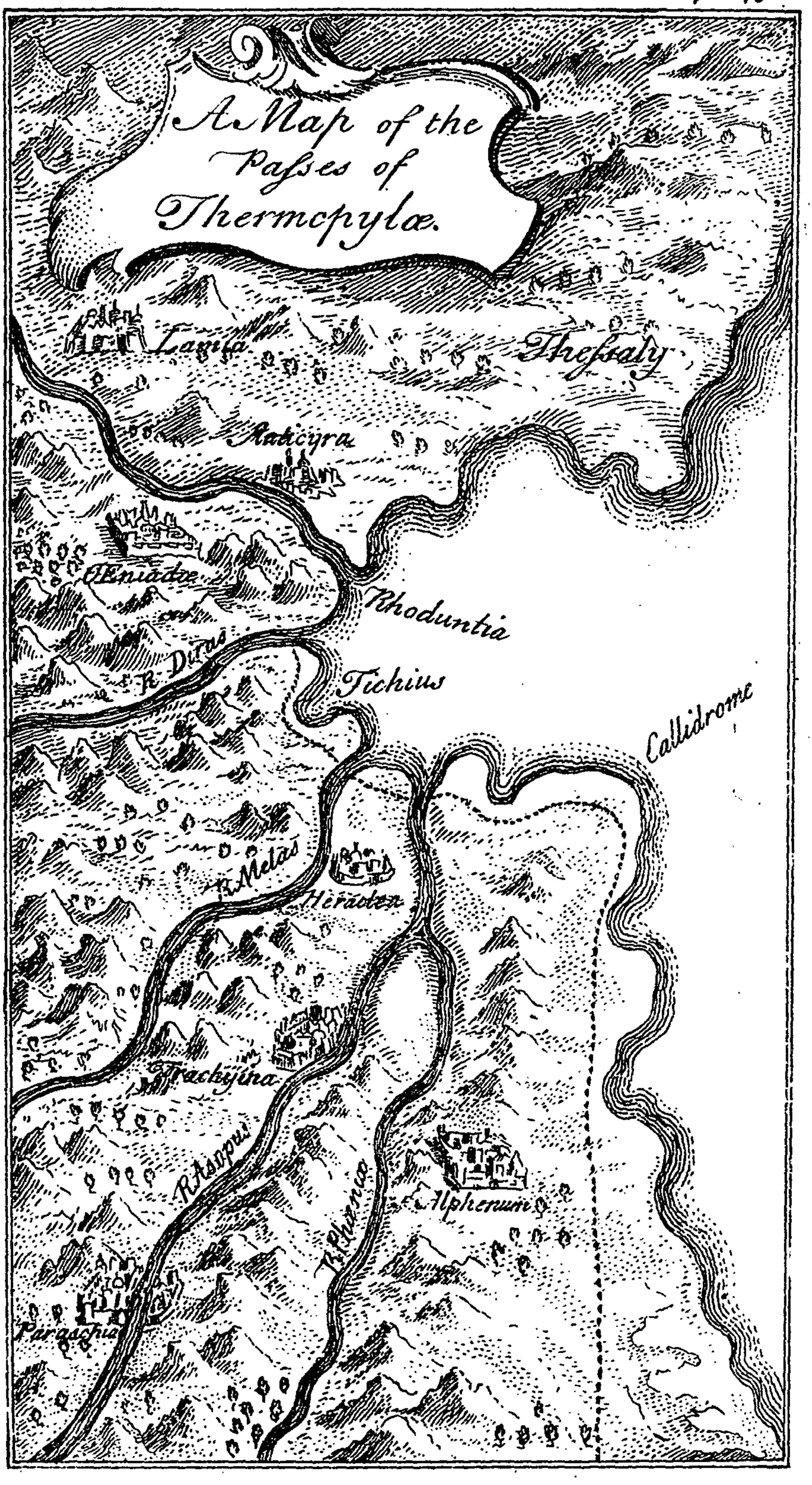
chus's

CHAP. XVI.

chus's ſoldiers who were taken in the ſeveral garriſon'd towns that ſurrendered at that time were delivered up to Philip. They amounted to about 3000 men. Then the conſul went to Lariſſa to deliberate about the operations of the campaign. On his march he was met by deputies from Pieria and Metropolis offering to ſurrender their cities. Philip treated the Athamanian captives in particular with great civility, in order to conciliate the affection of their nation. Accordingly in hopes of becoming maſter of their country, he marched his army thither, having ſent the priſoners before. Their relating with what clemency and munificence he had treated them, gained him great authority among the commonalty. Amynander, whoſe preſence and majeſty kept ſome of them in their allegiance, fearing leſt he ſhould be delivered up to Philip, who had long been his mortal enemy, and knowing the Romans had juſt cauſe to be offended with him for his revolt, left his dominions and retired with his wife and children into Ambracia. By this means Philip got abſolute poſſeſſion of all Athamania. The conſul having ſtay'd a few days at Lariſſa, principally to refreſh his cattle, who were fatigued with the voyage, and afterwards with the march, marched to Cranon, with his army much recruited by that ſhort reſpite. As he advanced Pharſalus, Scotuſſa and Pheræ ſurrendered to him with the gariſons Antiochus had left in them. Having invited as many of them as were willing to ſtay with him, he gave Philip 1000 voluntiers: he ſent all the reſt unarmed to Demetrias. Then he reduced Proerna [a], and all the forts round it, and ſet out for the Malaic gulph. As he approached the ſtraits commanded by the city of Thaumacis, all the youth left it in their arms, and beſet the woods and roads, and from the eminences haraſſed his army. The conſul firſt ſent perſons to ſpeak to them, and diſſuade them from ſuch madneſs: but ſeeing them obſtinately perſiſt in their attempts, he ſent a tribune

[a] Now *Thaumacis*.

with


A Map of the Passes of Thermopylæ.
Lamia
Thessaly
Radicyra
Œniadæ
Rhoduntia
R. Dyras
Tichius
Callidrome
R. Melas
Heraclea
Trachyina
Rhodopou
R. Phœnix
Alpheneum
Paraschia

with two companies of foot, to hinder the armed youth from returning to the town, and then took it as it was abandoned. When they heard the ſhouts of thoſe that had taken their town behind, they fled from the woods, and great ſlaughter was made of them in the flight. The conſul, two days after he left Thaumacis, arrived at the river Sperchius, from whence he ravaged the lands of the Hypatæans.

CHAP. XV.

DURING theſe expeditions Antiochus was at Chalcis. Now he perceived that of all the advantages he had expected from the Greeks, nothing remained but a diſhonorable marriage and the pleaſures he had enjoy'd during the winter, and began to complain of the vain promiſes of the Ætolians, and of Thoas. On the other hand he admired Hannibal not only as an able general, but as one to whom the books of fate had been opened to enable him to foretell what was to happen. However not to ruin an enterprize he had raſhly engaged in by indolence, he ſent couriers into Ætolia, ordering them to come to him with all their youth. He himſelf marched near 10000 foot, which he had completed with thoſe that came laſt from Aſia, to the rendezvous. He found fewer Ætolians aſſembled there than ever, and only the chief men with a few of their vaſſals. They ſaid they had uſed their utmoſt endeavors to bring as many with them as they could, but they could not prevail either by authority or promiſes upon their youth, who obſtinately refuſed to take arms. Being thus deſtitute on all hands, by the ſtay of his own ſubjects, who were not in haſte to quit Aſia, and by his allies failing in every thing they promiſed, on which he had rely'd, he retired within the ſtraits of Thermopylæ. This ridge of hills divides Greece in the middle, as the Apennines do Italy. Facing this ſtrait to the north lye Epirus, Perrhœbia, Magneſia and Theſſaly, alſo Phthiotis of Achæa and the Malaic gulph. Within it to the ſouth lye the greater part of Ætolia, Acarnania, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, with the iſland of Eubœa joining to it, and

CHAP. XV. behind it the land of Attica, projecting into the ſea like a promontory, and alſo the Peloponneſus. The ridge of mountains begins at Leucæ, and from the weſtern ſea ſtretches through Ætolia to the Levant on the eaſt, and is ſo full of rocks and precipices, that not only armies, but even light travellers can hardly find a paſſage over it. The eaſt end of it is called Oeta, and the higheſt part of it Callidromos, at the foot of which is a valley aboot 60 paces broad, leading to the Malaic gulph. This is the only way by which an army can paſs, if they meet with no other obſtacle. It is for this reaſon ſome call it Pylæ, or gates, while others, becauſe there are hot ſprings in it, call it Thermopylæ. This place is famous for the valor with which the Lacedæmonians (under Leonidas) defended it againſt the Perſians, or rather for their generouſly ſacrificing their lives there.

CHAP. XVII. ANTIOCHUS encamped within this paſs, but not with the ſame reſolution, and fortify'd the defile with a ſtrong double foſſé and paliſade, and even a wall where it was neceſſary, finding great plenty of ſtones on the ſpot to facilitate the work. Firmly believing that the Roman army could never force him in this poſt, he ſent 4000 Ætolians, which was all that came to him, to gariſon Heraclea, which ſtood at the entrance to the ſtreight, and to Hypata. He did not doubt but the conſul would attack Heraclea, and he had already received frequent intelligence, that all the country about Hypata was laid waſte. The Ætolians did no ſervice at either place, for the conſul firſt ravaged the lands of Hypata, and then thoſe of Heraclea at pleaſure, and then encamped oppoſite to the king in the entrance to the ſtraight near the hot ſprings. Both diviſions of the Ætolians threw themſelves into Heraclea. Antiochus, who thought every place ſufficiently fortify'd and guarded before the enemy approached, was now ſeized with terror, leſt the Romans ſhould find ſome paſſage by the tops of the mountains. For he knew by report that the Perſians had formerly come down

from thence upon the Lacedæmonians, and the Romans in like manner lately upon Philip. For this reason he sent to the Ætolians at Heraclea, requesting only this service in the war, that they would seize and beset all the tops of the mountains round, to hinder the Romans from passing. Upon receiving this message the Ætolians differed among themselves. Some were for obeying the king's orders and going upon the expedition; others thought it better to wait the decision of fortune at Heraclea; if the king was defeated, they would be ready with their whole force to aid the neighboring states, and if he should come off victorious, they would be ready to fall on the Romans dispersed in the flight. Each party not only persisted in their opinions, but actually put them in execution. 2000 staid at Heraclea, and 2000, in three divisions, seized three high hills, Callidromos, Rhoduntia and Tichiuns. CHAP. XVI.

WHEN the consul saw the Ætolians in possession of these eminences he sent two lieutenant generals, who had both been consuls, M. Porcius Cato, and L. Valerius Flaccus, with 2000 men to dislodge the Ætolians from their posts. Flaccus was to attack Rhoduntia and Tichiuns, and Cato, Callidromos. The consul himself, before he would advance against the enemy, assembled his troops and thus harangued them. CHAP. XVII.

'I observe the greatest part of 'you, of all ranks, are the very soldiers who served 'in this same province under the conduct and au'spices of T. Quinctius. The defile is not so impreg'nable here, as it was at the Aoüs in the Macedo'nian war. For here are it's gates: Here is the on'ly passage cut out by nature, while all others are 'stopt up between two seas. The fortifications were 'then in fitter places, and much stronger, and the 'enemy then excel'd the present, both in the num'ber and quality of their troops. For their army 'was composed of Macedonians, Thracians and Il'lyrians, all warlike and brave nations; now we are 'solely opposed by Syrians and Asiatic Greeks, a

CHAP. XVII.

'people naturally vain and born slaves. The king 'formerly was a warlike prince, inured from his 'youth to arms in his wars with the Thracians, Il-'lyrians, and all his other neighbors: but this An-'tiochus, not to mention the rest of his life, is he, 'who coming out of Asia into Europe to make war 'on the Romans, did nothing memorable during 'the whole winter, but, to gratify an amorous pas-'sion, take to wife the daughter of an obscure, 'private man, nay a commoner. This new marry'd 'man, surfeited with nuptial delicacies, is come 'out forsooth to give us battle. All his hopes and 'strength centred in the Ætolians, a vain, ungrate-'ful nation, as you yourselves have experienced, 'and Antiochus at this present finds true. For but 'very few of them join'd him, those that did could 'not be kept within the camp, and now mutiny a-'mong themselves. Though they demanded to be 'sent to defend Hypata and Heraclea, they de-'fended neither; for one division of them has fled 'to the tops of the mountains, and another shut itself 'up in Heraclea. The king himself confesses, he 'dares not engage us on fair ground, nay dare not 'even encamp in the open field, but abandoning 'all the country, which he boasted he had taken 'from us and Philip, hides himself among the 'rocks. He does not, as it is story'd of the Lace-'dæmonians, encamp in the entrance of the defile, 'but in the very heart of it, which is as certain an 'indication of fear, as if he had shut himself up 'within a walled town. But Antiochus shall never 'be protected by the pass, nor the Ætolians by 'the eminences they have seized. Sufficient pre-'cautions have already been taken, that you should 'have nothing to oppose you in battle but the ene-'my. You ought now to consider, that you are 'not only to fight for the liberty of Greece, (as tru-'ly it would be an honorable title, to be called the 'deliverers of Greece formerly from the yoke of 'Philip, and now from that of the Ætolians and An-

'tiochus) nor think that you are to reap no reward; except the ſpoil you find in the king's camp; for all that fine apparatus, which is daily expected from Epheſus, will be your's: then you will open a paſſage for the Roman arms into Aſia and Syria, and all the opulent kingdoms of the eaſt, as far as the riſing of the ſun. What ſhall then hinder us from making the ocean that ſurrounds the globe the boundary of our empire, extending it from Cadiz to the red ſea; and making all nations of the univerſe revere the Roman name next to that of the Gods? Prepare your hearts to deſerve theſe great rewards, and let us to morrow, with the help of the Gods, attack the enemy.'

CHAP. XVII.

HAVING diſmiſſed the aſſembly, the ſoldiers went to furbiſhing their arms, before they ſat down to ſupper. At day break the ſignal for battle was given, and the conſul drew up his army with a narrow front anſwerable to the breadth of the defile. When Antiochus ſaw the Romans advancing, he alſo drew out his troops. In the firſt place he poſted ſome of his light troops before his lines, and then the flower of the Macedonians who carry'd long pikes, as his main ſtrength round the rampart. To their left at the bottom of the hill he poſted his javelineers, archers and ſlingers, to annoy the naked flanks of the enemy from the higher ground. To the right of the Macedonians, at the end of his lines, where the ground is unpaſſable as far as the ſea, by reaſon of muddy lakes and quagmires, he poſted his elephants with their uſual guard, and his cavalry behind them. Then leaving a ſmall interval he formed the reſt of his forces into a ſecond line. The Macedonians poſted immediately before the lines at firſt ſuſtain'd, with eaſe, the attacks of the Romans, who try'd to force a paſſage every where. They were much helped by the ſhowers of ſtones from the ſlings, the arrows and javelins thrown from the higher ground. But as the Romans advanced with a vigor and ardor not to be reſiſted, they gave way and

CHAP. XVIII.

retired within their lines, from whence projecting their ſpears they formed as it were another paliſade. The rampart was ſo low, that they could fight from it, and the length of their ſpears kept the enemy down. Many who raſhly advanced cloſe to it were run through, and they had either retired without their aim, or many more loſt their lives, had not Cato come down from Callidromos, (where he ſurprized the Ætolians off their guard and aſleep, killed the greateſt part of them, and diſlodged the reſt) and appeared on an eminence that commanded Antiochus's camp.

CHAP. XIX.

FLACCUS did not meet with the ſame ſucceſs againſt Tichiuns and Rhoduntia, which he in vain endeavored to get up to. The Macedonians, and other ſoldiers in Antiochus's camp, when they ſaw only at firſt, and at a diſtance, a great body of men coming down, imagined it was the Ætolians marching to their aſſiſtance. But upon their coming ſo near, that they could diſcern their enſigns and arms, they diſcovered their miſtake, were ſeized with a panic, threw down their arms and fled. The fortifications and narrowneſs of the ſtrait through which they muſt paſs, prevented the Romans from purſuing; and in particular the elephants who happened to be in the rear. The foot could hardly paſs them, and the horſe not at all, for the horſes were ſo terrified at the ſight of them, that it occaſioned greater confuſion amongſt them than had happened in the battle: The rifling of the camp alſo detain'd them a conſiderable time. Notwithſtanding they purſued them that day as far as Scarphia [a]. Many fell in the purſuit, and many were taken, men, horſes and elephants; what of the latter they could not take they killed, and then returned to their camp, which had been attacked that day, during the action, by the Ætolians who gariſon'd Heraclea, but with a ſucceſs no way anſwerable to ſo bold an attempt. The conſul detached the cavalry at the third watch next night in purſuit of the enemy, and at day break he gave the ſignal for the foot to march. Antiochus

[a] A maritime city belonging to *Locris*.

had

had got a great way before, and did not ſtop his precipitate flight till he came to Elatia, from whence, as ſoon as he had gathered together the ſcattered remains of the field and flight, he marched back to Chalcis with a ſmall body of half armed troops. The Roman cavalry did not come up with him at Elatia, but cut off a great part of his troops, who had halted through wearineſs, or had loſt their way, not having guides to direct their flight through a country, in which they were ſtrangers. Of his whole army not above 500 about the king's perſon eſcaped; a ſmall number, indeed, out of 10000, which Polybius ſays he brought out of Aſia with him. But if we believe what Antias Valerius writes on this ſubject, he brought with him 60000, whereof 40000 were killed, and 5000 taken with 230 ſtandards. The Romans loſt 150 in the battle, and not above 50 in the attack of the Ætolians. CHAP. XIX.

AS the conſul marched through Phocis and Bœotia, the cities that were conſcious of their revolt, ſtood before their gates with woollen fillets round their heads for fear they ſhould have been rifled. But he marched the whole way as if he had been in an ally's country, without committing the leaſt hoſtility, till he came into the territories of Coronæa. Here being enraged to ſee a ſtatue of Antiochus in the temple of Minerva Itonia, he gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to ravage all the country round it. But then conſidering, that as the ſtatue was erected by a general decree of the Bœotians, it was not reaſonable to vent his cruelties upon the Coroneans alone, he put an end to the ravages and recalled his troops, only reprimanding the Bœotians for their ingratitude to the Romans, who had done them ſuch ſignal ſervice lately. During the action ten of the king's fleet under command of Iſidorus, rode before Thronium in the Malaic gulph. Alexander the Acarnanian, having fled thither all covered with wounds, informed them of the king's defeat, upon which they weighed in a terrible fright, and ſtood away for Cenæum[a] in Eubœa. There CHAP. XX.

[a] Now cape *Canaia*.

Alexander died and was bury'd. Three others, who coming from Aſia, had ſtood in for the ſame port, hearing of their maſter's defeat, returned to Epheſus. Iſidorus went from Cenæum to Demetrias, imagining the king might have fled thither. About the ſame time Atilius the Roman admiral intercepted a great fleet of the king's ſtore-ſhips in the ſtraight of Andros, of which he ſunk ſome and took others. The ſternmoſt of them returned to Aſia. Atilius returning to Pireæus, from whence he had ſet out, with a number of captive ſhips, and divided a great quantity of corn among the Athenians, and the other allies in that country.

CHAP. XXI.

ANTIOCHUS did not ſtay the conſul's coming up, but quitting Chalcis went to Tenos, and from thence paſſed over to Epheſus. Chalcis opened her gates to the conſul on his firſt approach, and Ariſtotle the king's general marched away. All the other towns in Eubœa ſurrendered without heſitation. Then the conſul, having in a few days reduced the whole country without offering the leaſt violence, marched back to Thermopylæ, much more commendable for the moderation he ſhewed after the victory, than for the victory itſelf. From hence he diſpatched Cato to Rome, that the Roman ſenate and people might have a juſt and certain account of what had paſſed. The latter ſet out from Creüſa, a magazine belonging to Theſpe, and lying in the innermoſt part of the gulph of Corinth, to Patras of Achaia; from thence coaſting along the ſhores of Ætolia and Acarnania, he arrived at Hydruns in Italy. From thence in five days he came on foot at a great pace to Rome, and entering the city before day, went directly from the gate to the prætor M. Junius. He aſſembled the ſenate at day break. Here L. Cornelius Scipio, who had been detached by the conſul ſeveral days before him, arriving, and hearing that Cato had got before him, came in in the middle of his diſcourſe. Then the two meſſengers were led to the aſſembly of the people, where they gave the ſame detail of the exploits in Ætolia,

Ætolia, as they had done in the ſenate. A ſupplication was appointed for three days: and that the prætor ſhould offer forty of the larger ſacrifices to what Gods he pleaſed. About the ſame time M. Fulvius Nobilior, who had been ſent prætor into Further Spain two years before, had the honor of an ovation: In the proceſſion were carried 130000 denarii; beſides that 12000 pound weight of ſilver in bars: and 127 of gold.

ACILIUS the conſul ſent meſſengers from Thermopylæ to Heraclea, to beg the Ætolians, 'to 'conſider ſeriouſly, that ſince they had had a con-'vincing proof of the little dependance they ought 'to have on the Syrian, they ſhould deliver up He-'raclea, and think of aſking the Romans pardon for 'what either proceded from ignorance or frenzy. 'The reſt of the ſtates of Greece had revolted from 'the Romans to whom they were under the greateſt 'obligations; but becauſe after the flight of the king, 'depending on whom they had fallen off from their 'duty, they had not added obſtinacy to a fault, they 'had been again received into favor. Though the 'Ætolians did not follow the king to the war, but 'called him to their aid, and were not aſſociates 'but leaders in it; yet if they would repent, 'they might ſtill be ſafe.' As their anſwer did not tend to peace, it was evident the war muſt be continued, and that after the king was conquered, the Romans had ſtill an intire war with the Ætolians on their hands. Acilius moved his camp from Thermopylæ to Heraclea; and the ſame day rode round the walls to reconnoitre the city. Heraclea is ſituated at the bottom of mount Oeta: it ſtands in a plain, and has a citadel on a high and ſteep eminence which commands it. Having made all neceſſary obſervations, he reſolved to aſſault it on four different quarters. He gave L. Valerius the command of the works and attack on the ſide of the river Aſopus, where there was a place of exerciſe, and that on the citadel, which was better inhabited than the city, to T. Sempronius Longus: M. Bæbius commanded on

CHAP. XXII.

the ſide of the Malaic gulph, a place not eaſy of acceſs; and Ap. Claudius on another little river, which they call Melana, oppoſite to the temple of Diana. The towers, battering rams and all other apparatus for beſieging a city were accompliſh'd in a few days with great emulation. As the ground about Heraclea was moory and full of large trees, it ſupplied them with plenty of materials for all ſorts of works; and as the Ætolians retired within their walls, and left the houſes in the ſuburbs empty, they furniſhed them not only with beams and planks, but alſo with brick, mortar and ſtones of different ſizes for various uſes.

CHAP. XXIII.

THUS the Romans haraſſed the beſieged rather by works than perſonal attacks; while the Ætolians defended themſelves by arms. For when the walls were battered with rams, they did not catch hold of them with ropes, as uſual, to break their force: but the ſoldiers threw fire in great quantities on the works. They alſo had openings in the walls very convenient for making ſallies: and when they rebuilt the breaches they made a great number of theſe openings that they might ſally out in many places againſt the enemy. Thus for the firſt days, whilſt their ſtrength was unbroken, they made frequent ſallies and behaved gallantly, but daily in ſmaller numbers and with leſs ardor; for having multiplicity of things to do, watching quite fatigued them. But the Romans, having abundance of ſoldiers, relieved one another alternately, whereas the Ætolians having very few, the ſame perſons were obliged to undergo the greateſt fatigues in the ſame poſts night and day for 24 days ſucceſſively. So that they had no intervals from fighting, but were forced to defend the city from the aſſailants, who attacked it on four quarters at once. When the conſul knew the Ætolians were fatigued, (partly from obſerving the time, and from what he had learned by certain deſerters) he made uſe of the following ſtratagem. In the middle of the night he ordered a retreat to be ſounded to draw off all his men from the aſſault, and kept them quiet in their camp till nine o'clock in the morning. Then he made

made a freſh attack, and continued it till midnight, when he reſted till the ſame hour of the next day. The Ætolians thinking the diſcontinuing the attacks was owing to the Romans being fatigued, which was the caſe with themſelves, whenever the retreat was ſounded by the enemy as if it had been alſo a ſignal for them, every man retired from his poſt, and did not appear on the walls till nine o'clock in the morning.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE conſul, having quitted the aſſault at midnight, at three of the clock in the morning began a freſh attack, with all poſſible vigor in three parts: He ordered T. Sempronius to keep his men intent for the ſignal, not doubting the enemy would haſte to that place where the noiſe came from. Moſt of the Ætolians being fatigued were found aſleep; and the reſt, who were upon guard, ran in the dark where the noiſe of the attack was. Some of the enemy endeavored to enter the town over the ruins of the breach, and others by ſcale. Againſt them the Ætolians ran to defend the breach. One quarter, where the houſes join'd to the ſuburbs, was neither aſſaulted nor defended; while ſome Romans waited for the ſignal to attack it, and nobody appeared to oppoſe them. The conſul gave them the ſignal juſt at day break. Then they entered the city without fighting, ſome over the ruins, and others over the walls with ſcaling ladders. At the ſame time a ſhout being heard, a ſure indication that the city was taken, the Ætolians left their poſts and ran to the citadel. After the town was taken the conſul permitted his troops to rifle it, not ſo much out of anger and reſentment, as that the ſoldiers, out of ſo many conquered towns, ſhould taſte at laſt the fruits of their victories. Acilius, having drawn off the ſoldiers about noon, divided them into two parts; one he ordered to fetch a compaſs by the foot of the hills, and gain the top of a rock as high as the citadel, but ſeparated from it by a ſmall valley; and yet ſo near that darts might be thrown from either into the

CHAP. XXIV.

other. The conſul, with the other diviſion ſtaid below, waiting a ſignal from thoſe who were on the top of the mountain. The Ætolians in the citadel could not ſuſtain the firſt attack of thoſe who had ſeized the rock, much leſs of the Romans who came from the city. How could they ſuſtain a long ſiege, as they were diſpirited, deſtitute of proviſions, and ſo great a number of men and women unfit for bearing arms had taken refuge in the citadel, as could not long ſubſiſt there? Accordingly they threw down their arms and ſurrendered. Among other noble priſoners they delivered up Damocritus, who at the beginning of the war, when Flamininus demanded a copy of their decree for calling in Antiochus, had anſwered, 'he would give it him in their camp in Ita-'ly.' The Romans rejoiced as much at having this man as at taking ſo important a city.

CHAP. XXV.

WHILE they were buſy at Heraclea, Philip by concert beſieg'd Lamia. He had met the conſul near Thermopylæ to congratulate him and the Romans on their victory there, and to excuſe his not aſſiſting in the war, being hindered by ſickneſs. They took different ways to reduce theſe two cities. As they were within ſeven miles of each other, and Lamia was ſituated on an eminence, they could ſee what was doing in each other's camp. The Romans and Macedonians contended with the greateſt emulation, both in raiſing works and in ſkirmiſhing, but the latter found the greateſt difficulty; becauſe, while the Romans were employ'd in their platforms and works above ground, they were buſy in mining; and as the ground was rocky they often met with places their pick-axes could not penetrate. The king, ſeeing he did not ſuccede, began in conferences to ſolicite the townſmen to ſurrender, not doubting, but if Heraclea ſhould be taken firſt, they would chooſe rather to ſurrender to the Romans than to him, and that the conſul would have the glory of raiſing the ſiege. Nor did he judge wrong; for as ſoon as Heraclea was taken the conſul diſpatched a courier to him, ordering him 'to quit the

'ſiege,

'siege, because it was more reasonable that the Ro-
'mans, who had fought a pitched battle with the
'Ætolians, should enjoy the fruits of their victory.'
Accordingly he quitted the siege of Lamia, which, taking warning from the destruction of her neighboring city, avoided the same calamity by a voluntary submission.

CHAP. XXVI.

BEFORE the gaining these two cities the Ætolians assembled a diet at Hypata, and sent ambassadors to Antiochus. Thoas was one of this embassy, as he had been of the former. His orders were first to ask the king once more to assemble his land and sea forces, and come into Greece; if any thing hindered him to send his allies money, at least, and aids to support the war. For his honor and credit were concerned not to see his allies abandoned, as well as the safety of his own dominions required him not to suffer the Romans to bring all their force into Asia, since they would have nothing to stop them after the Ætolians were crushed. As this carry'd a great appearance of truth, it made a great impression on the Syrian. Accordingly he presently gave the deputies the sums necessary for supporting the war; and faithfully promised to send an army and fleet to their assistance. He kept Thoas, one of the deputies, with him. This Ætolian was well pleased to continue at the Syrian court, in order to solicit Antiochus to perform his promise.

CHAP. XXVII.

HOWEVER the taking Heraclea at length broke the Ætolians spirits, and a few days after they had declared for continuing the war, and sent envoys to rouse Antiochus, they laid aside all thoughts of arms, and sent a deputation to ask peace of the consul. Acilius interrupted them in the very beginning of their speech, telling them he had a multiplicity of other business. However he desired they would return to Hypata, and he would grant them ten days truce, and send Val. Flaccus with them, with orders to treat with them about what they wanted at present, or any thing else they might desire. On their arrival at Hypata, their chiefs assembled in presence of

CHAP. XXVII.

of Flaccus, and advised with him how to procede with the consul. As they were beginning to expatiate on their ancient alliance and the good offices they had done the Romans, Flaccus stopped them, saying 'talk no more of an alliance, which your-'selves have violated. An acknowledgment of 'your fault will be of more service to you; and you 'must turn your whole speech to humble supplica-'tions. Your hopes of safety depend not on your 'cause, but on the clemency of the Romans. I 'will second your humble entreaties to the consul 'and senate, to whom you should also send ambas-'sadors.' All the diet saw that the only means to save themselves 'was to throw themselves on the 'faith of the Romans. For by this means they 'would put the Romans under a necessity, for very 'shame as they were suppliants, not to hurt them, 'and at the same time have it in their power to take 'advantage of more favorable opportunities, which 'fortune should offer them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

WHEN they presented themselves before the consul, Phæneas, chief of the embassy, made a long and pathetic speech to mitigate the victor's wrath, and concluded with saying, 'The Ætolians throw 'themselves and their all on the honor and clemen-'cy of the Romans.' When the consul heard that, he desired them 'maturely to consider, how they 'engaged themselves.' Then Phæneas read the decree, which contained the engagement word for word. 'Since, reply'd the consul, you abandon your all to 'our faith, I demand of you without delay to deli-'ver up to me your countryman Dicæarchus, and 'Mænetas of Epirus, (who had entered Naupactus 'with a garison, and forced the inhabitants to take 'arms) with Amynander and the chiefs of the A-'thamanians, by whose advice you revolted from 'us.' Phæneas scarce waited till the consul had done speaking, and then said, 'We threw ourselves upon 'your honor, but did not deliver up ourselves to 'slavery. I am convinced it is through ignorance of

'the

'the Greek cuſtoms, you demand of us things con- CHAP.
'trary to them.' 'What is it to me, anſwered the XXVIII.
'conſul, whether the Ætolians think I act inconſiſt-
'ently with the cuſtoms of Greece? It is enough
'for me, to uſe my authority, according to the Ro-
'man cuſtoms, over a people who have juſt now
'ſubmitted by their own decree, and whom I had
'before ſubjected by arms. Wherefore if you do not
'obey my orders inſtantly, I will order you to be
'put in irons.' He immediately commanded the chains to be brought, and the lictors to ſurround them. This humbled Phæneas and his collegues, and they began to be ſenſible of their condition. He ſaid, 'that he knew he and all the Ætolians preſent muſt 'obey the conſul's orders; but it was neceſſary to 'aſſemble a diet to paſs a decree for that purpoſe. 'And in order to do ſo, he beg'd another truce of 'ten days.' This he obtained by Flaccus's mediation, and the ambaſſadors returned to Hypata. When Phæneas had related to their privy council, the orders impoſed on them, and the danger they had been expoſed to, the principal men could not help groaning at their lamentable ſituation: however they concluded to obey the victor, and immediately ſummoned a diet of the whole nation.

WHEN their whole people aſſembled heard CHAP.
what had paſſed, they were ſo exaſperated at the XXIX.
cruelty and indignity of the order, that had they been at peace, their rage would have been capable of making them take arms. With their rage was united the difficulty of executing the orders; how could they in particular deliver up king Amynander? Beſides they conceived ſome hopes by the lucky arrival, at that time, of Nicander out of Syria. He filled the multitude with a vain expectation that Antiochus was preparing to renew the war by ſea and land. He had in twelve days after he embarked executed his commiſſion and returned to Ætolia, having landed at Phalera on the Malaic gulph. After he had carried the ſums he had brought with him to Lamia, he ſet

out

CHAP. XXIX. out poſt in the duſk of the evening for Hypata; but as he was paſſing by ways he was acquainted with between the Roman and Macedonian camps, he fell in with an advanced guard of the latter, which brought him before the king who was at ſupper. The king moved with his fate received him like a gueſt rather than an enemy, deſiring him to ſit down and eat. After ſupper he diſmiſſed the reſt of the company, and bade him 'be under no manner of apprehen-'ſion for his life. He blamed the Ætolians for their 'wicked deſigns, which had turned to their own de-'ſtruction. They firſt brought the Romans and then 'Antiochus into Greece. But ſince it was eaſier to 'blame than mend what was paſt, he would forget 'all and not inſult his miſery. However he thought 'the Ætolians ought at length to lay aſide their ha-'tred to him, and Nicander always gratefully re-'member, that he was indebted to him for his life.' Then he ſent him home under an eſcort, and Nicander arrived at Hypata while the Ætolians were deliberating about a peace with the Romans.

CHAP. XXX. ACILIUS ſold and gave all the booty about Heraclea to his troops. Then hearing that the diet at Hypata refuſed the peace, and that the Ætolians had aſſembled all their forces at Naupactus to ſuſtain the weight of the war there, he detached Ap. Claudius to ſeize the defiles by which they were to paſs the mountains, and went himſelf up to mount Oeta, where he ſacrificed to Hercules in the place called Pyra, from the mortal body of that God being burnt there. After that he took long marches with the whole army. When he arrived at Corax, a very high mountain between Callipolis and Naupactus, many of the carriage beaſts tumbled headlong with their loads, and his men were excedingly haraſſed. This was a clear indication of the lazy diſpoſition of the enemy, who had not guarded theſe defiles to obſtruct his march. After having undergone incredible fatigue, he came down upon Naupactus. He erected a battery againſt the citadel, and inveſted the other

parts

parts of the town by dividing his troops according to the ſituation of the walls. This ſiege did not coſt him leſs pains and works than that of Heraclea.

CHAP. XXXI.

ABOUT the ſame time in Peloponneſus, the Achæans laid ſiege to Meſſene, whoſe inhabitants had refuſed to come to their diet: For it and the city of Elis would not aſſociate with the Achæans, but declared for the Ætolians. However after Antiochus was driven out of Greece the Eleans mildly anſwered the Achæan deputies, 'that as ſoon as they had diſ-'miſſed the Syrian gariſon, they would conſider what 'ſtep they ought to take next.' But the Meſſenians diſmiſſing them without any anſwer at all, had recourſe to arms. Yet being in terrible conſternation for their ſtate, when they ſaw their country laid waſte by fire and ſword, and the enemy encamped before their gates, they diſpatched deputies to tell Flamininus, the author of their liberty, at Chalcis, that they were ready to open their gates and ſurrender their city to the Romans, but not to the Achæans. When Flamininus had heard the ambaſſadors he ſet out from Chalcis to Megalopolis, from whence he ſent orders to Diophanes prætor of Achæa, to quit the ſiege of Meſſene directly and come to him. The prætor obey'd, raiſed the ſiege, and leaving his army went expreſs and met Flamininus near Andania, a little town between Megalopolis and Meſſene. After he had given his reaſons for beſieging the place, the Roman gently rebuked him for having undertaken ſo great an enterprize without authority from him, and ordered him to diſband his army, and not diſturb a peace which had been made for the general benefit of all the country. Then he commanded the Meſſenians to ſend back the exiles they had, and to be ſubject to the Achæan diet; at the ſame time if they had any objections to make, or proviſion for their future ſecurity, he bade them apply to him at Corinth. He alſo ordered Diophanes to aſſemble the Achæan diet immediately, at which he was to appear in perſon. There he complained of their fraudalent pur-

chaſe

chaſe of the iſland of Zacynthos, and demanded that it ſhould be reſtored to the Romans. Originally it had been the property of king Philip, who had ceded it to Amynander in order to obtain a free paſſage for his troops through Athamania into the upper parts of Ætolia. By this expedition he quite broke the ſpirits of the Ætolians, and forced them to ſue for peace. Amynander had made Philip of Megalopolis governor of it; but being obliged, after he had joined Antiochus againſt the Romans, to recal Philip to employ him in the war, he had ſent Hierocles, originally an Agrigentine, to ſuccede him.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE latter, after the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and Philip had driven Amynander out of Athamania, ſent commiſſioners to Diophanes, and by them ſold the iſland to the Achæans for a ſum of money. However the Romans thought it belonged to them by right of conqueſt, ſince their conſul Acilius and their legions had not fought for the Achæans at Thermopylæ. However Diophanes ſometimes excuſed himſelf and his nation for having bought it; and that others endeavored to keep poſſeſſion of it by chicanery. Some of the Achæans at firſt, declared they thought it a matter not worth diſputing, and then blamed the prætor's obſtinacy, paſſing a decree, by which they left it entirely to Flamininus. This Roman, if thwarted, was extremely ſevere; but extremely mild when left to his own diſcretion. Accordingly laying aſide all ſternneſs of countenance and ſpeech, he ſaid, 'If I thought your poſſeſſing Zacyn-
'thos for your intereſt, I would intercede with the
'Roman ſenate and people to allow you to keep it.
'But I look on Achaia as a ſort of tortoiſe, which
'collected within its ſhell is guarded againſt all dan-
'ger; but when ſhe thruſts out any part, whatever
'ſhe thus expoſes becomes weak and ſubject to in-
'jury. Your caſe is the ſame: You may eaſily join
'to your dominions and maintain any place within
'the bounds of Peloponneſus which is ſurrounded
'by the ſea. But if through an avidity of foreign

'acquiſitions

'acquisitions you excede these limits, you expose 'such acquisitions to insults.' Upon this the diet unanimously yielded Zacynthos to the Romans, and Diophanes acquiesced.

ABOUT the same time Philip asked the consul on his march to Naupactus, if he would give him leave to conquer the cities which had faln off from the Roman alliance. Upon Acilius's granting his consent he marched to Demetrias, knowing well that all was in confusion there. For the inhabitants of that city, being reduced to despair as they saw themselves abandoned by Antiochus and had no hopes of aid from the Ætolians, day and night expected a visit either from Philip, or a more formidable enemy, the Romans, who had greater reason to be enraged against them. The Syrian garison, which observed no discipline, was not very numerous at first, though afterwards increased by multitudes who fled thither for refuge after the defeat, the greatest part of them without arms, and having neither strength or courage sufficient to sustain a siege. Accordingly when Philip sent a trumpet to summon the city, and offer them quarter, they answered 'they would 'open their gates to him.' At his first entering it some of the principal men fled, and Eurylochus killed himself. The Syrian garison, according to capitulation, were conducted under an escort through Macedonia and Thrace to Lysimachia. A few ships also that were at Demetrias, under command of Isidorus, were dismissed. CHAP. XXXIII.

THEN Philip recovered Dolopia, Aperantia, and several cities of Perrhæbia. While the Macedonian was thus employ'd, Flamininus, after recovering Zacynthos, left the Achæan diet, and passed over to Naupactus, which had been besieged for two months, but was reduced to extremities, and if it should hold out till it was taken by storm, it was certain the Ætolian nation would be there cut off to a man. Though he had great reason to be incensed against them in remembrance of their being the only people CHAP. XXXIV.

CHAP. XXXIV. who obſtructed his glory, when he ſet Greece free, and that his authority made no impreſſion on them, when he endeavored to deter them from their raſh enterprizes, by forewarning them of what afterwards happened; yet thinking it greatly concerned him not to ſee any people of Greece, which he had ſet free, utterly deſtroy'd, he begun to ride round the walls, that the Ætolians might know him. The advanced guards immediately ſpy'd him, and the report ran from rank to rank, that Flamininus was in the Roman camp. In conſequence they ran in crowds to the walls, waving their hands, and imploring him by name to relieve and ſave them. Though he was moved by their prayers, yet he gave ſigns with his hands, that he refuſed to help them. However he went afterwards to the conſul and ſaid, 'Do you, 'M. Acilius, well conſider your preſent enterprize? 'Or, after you have weighed it ſeriouſly, do you 'not perceive, that it is of no great conſequence to 'the affairs of our republic?' The conſul, ſurprized at the queſtion, deſired 'he would explain himſelf.' 'You ſee, continued Flamininus, that ſince your 'defeat of Antiochus, you have ſpent your whole 'time, in taking two cities, and your conſulate is on 'the point of expiring. But Philip, who ſees neither armies nor enemies to oppoſe him, has reduced not only ſeveral cities, but many nations, Athamania, Perrhæbia, Aperantia and Dolopia. It is not ſo much our intereſt to leſſen the ſtrength and power of Ætolia, as to take care not to augment thoſe of Philip beyond meaſure. You and your ſoldiers have not yet got as many cities as a reward of your victory, as the Macedonian has gotten nations.'

CHAP. XXXV. THE conſul owned he judged right, but was aſhamed to quit the ſiege without taking the city. But at laſt, he refer'd it entirely to Flamininus. The latter returned again to that part of the wall, from whence the Ætolians had called to him. When they redoubled their earneſt entreaties to ſhew ſome pity

to the Ætolian nation, he bade them ſend deputies to confer with him. Immediately Phæneas and ſome other of the principal men came out, and fell at his feet. 'Your unfortunate condition, ſaid the Ro-'man, makes me reſtrain my rage and reproaches. 'The very calamities I foretold have faln on your 'heads; and you have ſtill the farther mortification, 'that you have deſerved them. But as I am de-'ſtined to be a nurſing father to Greece, I will not 'withhold my benefits, even from ingrates. Send 'deputies to demand a ſuſpenſion of arms from the 'conſul, till you can ſend a deputation to Rome to 'ſubmit your caſe entirely to the ſenate. I will be 'your mediator and advocate with Acilius.' They followed the advice, and the conſul gave their deputies a gracious reception. Having granted them a truce till ſuch time as he thought their ambaſſadors could return from Rome, he raiſed the ſiege and ſent his army into Phocis. The conſul paſſed over to Ægium with Flamininus to be preſent at the diet of Achaia. There they deliberated about reſtoring the Eleans and Lacedæmonian exiles, but came to no reſolution, becauſe the Achæans reſerved the merit of reinſtating the Lacedæmonians to themſelves, and the Eleans choſe rather of themſelves than by means of the Romans to be rejoined to the Achæan body. Then deputies from the Epirotes came to the conſul. It was well known that that people had not acted ſincerely. For though they had not furniſhed the Syrian with troops, yet they were ſuſpected of having aided him with money, and they did not even deny having ſent ambaſſadors to him. When they requeſted leave to continue on their former footing of allies, the conſul anſwered, 'That he was ſtill 'in ſome doubt, whether to reckon them in the 'number of enemies or friends. He would leave 'the ſenate to determine that, and leave the matter 'entire to them. In the mean time, he would grant 'them a truce for 90 days.' Accordingly their deputies preſented themſelves before the ſenate. As

CHAP. XXXV.

they pleaded that they had not committed any hoſtilities, rather than clear'd themſelves of what was laid to their charge, they had ſuch an anſwer returned to them, as ſhew'd they had not exculpated themſelves, though they were pardoned. About the ſame time Philip's ambaſſadors had an audience of the ſenate, and congratulated them on their victory. At their requeſt the fathers granted them permiſſion to ſacrifice in the capitol, and to offer a preſent of a crown of gold weighing 100 pound in the temple of Jupiter the greateſt and beſt of beings. They not only received a gracious anſwer, but the Romans ſent back with them Philip's ſon Demetrias, who was a hoſtage at Rome. Thus ended the war which Acilius made on Antiochus in Greece.

CHAP. XXXVI. THE other conſul Scipio, who had got Gaul by lot, before he ſet out againſt the Boii, againſt whom he was to act, demanded of the ſenate a ſum of money for the celebrating games, which he had vow'd in the criſis of a battle when he was proprætor in Spain. The fathers thought the demand new and unreaſonable. Therefore they declared; 'That ſince he had vowed thoſe games of his own 'head, without adviſing the ſenate, he muſt cele-'brate them with the ſpoils, if he had reſerved any 'part of them, or at his own expence.' Accordingly he celebrated them for ten days. About the ſame time a temple was dedicated to Cybele mother of the Gods, whom on her arrival from Aſia, this very Scipio had carry'd from the ſea to the Palatine hill, in the conſulate of P. Licinius and Scipio afterwards ſurnamed Africanus. The cenſors M. Livius, and C. Claudius by order of the ſenate had agreed with undertakers to build this temple, in the conſulate of M. Cornelius and Tib. Sempronius, and thirteen years after this agreement it was dedicated by M. Junius Brutus, and ſtage plays were firſt exhibited on that occaſion. Valerius Antias calls them Megaleſian games. C. Licinius Lucullus alſo dedicated a temple to Juventas in the circus maximus. It had been vowed ſixteen years before by the conſul M.

Livius

Livius that day he defeated Asdrubal and his army. The same person agreed for the building of it in the consulate of M. Cornelius and P. Sempronius. Games were also celebrated at the dedication of it, and all was performed with the greater devotion, as a war with Antiochus was at hand.

IN the beginning of the year in which these things happened, it is reported, that after Acilius had set out for the war, and while his collegue was still at Rome, two oxen, in the quarter of the city called Carinæ, went up the stair case of an house, till they came to the roof of it. The haruspices ordered them to be burnt alive, and their ashes to be thrown into the Tyber. It was reported from Terracina and Amiternum, that it had several times rained stones. At Minturnæ the temple of Jupiter, and shops about the forum, were struck with lightning. Two ships in the mouth of the river Vulturnus were burnt with lightning. On account of these prodigies the senate ordered the Sybilline books to be consulted. The keepers of them having inspected them made their report, 'That a 'fast should be instituted in honor of Ceres, and kept 'every five years, that sacrifices should be offered for 'nine days, and a public prayer for one, at which 'the people were to assist with crowns on their heads. 'That the consul Scipio should offer what sacrifices, 'and to what Gods the decemvirs should think fit.' After the Gods were appeased by the accomplishment of vows and expiations of prodigies, the consul set out for his province. After he had dismissed the old army, and ordered the proconsul Domitius to return to Rome, he led his own legions into the country of the Boii. CHAP. XXXVII.

ABOUT the same time the Ligurians, having assembled their army under the most solemn oath, all of a sudden attacked the camp of the pro-consul Minucius in the night. Minucius kept his men under arms within his trenches till day light, carefully watching to prevent the enemy from forcing them any where. Then he sally'd out at two gates, but without being able to repulse the enemy at the first CHAP. XXXVIII.

CHAP. XXXVIII. charge as he expected; for they ſuſtained the fight with equal bravery during upwards of two hours. At laſt, when one body of Romans ſally'd after another, and freſh troops relieved the weary, the Ligurians, among other things being ſpent with want of ſleep, turned their backs. 4000 of them were ſlain, while the Romans and Latins loſt leſs than 300. About two months after the conſul Cornelius fought a ſignal battle with the Boii. Valerius Antias ſays, the enemy had 28000 killed, and 3400 taken priſoners, with 124 colors, 1200 horſes and 247 chariots, and that the victors loſt only 1484. But however little credit as to the numbers we give to this hiſtorian, who commonly exaggerates on ſuch occaſions, yet it certainly was a complete victory, becauſe the enemy's camp was taken, the Boii ſubmitted immediately after the battle, and the ſenate appointed a day of publie thankſgiving, with the greater ſacrifices, on account of it.

CHAP. XXXIX. ABOUT the ſame time M. Fulvius Nobilior returned from the Further Spain, and had the honor of an ovation. In the proceſſion were carry'd 10000 pound weight of ſilver in ingots[a], 130000 ſilver denarii, and 125 pound weight of gold[b]. The conſul Cornelius, after receiving hoſtages of the Boii, ſtrip'd them of half their territories, to which, if the Roman people thought fit, they might ſend colonies. Then as if he had been certain of a triumph on his arrival at Rome, he diſmiſſed his army, fixing a day for them to attend his triumph at the city. The day after his arrival, he gave a detail of his exploits to the ſenate aſſembled in the temple of Bellona, and demanded leave to enter Rome in triumph. P. Sempronius Bleſus, a tribune of the people, declared, 'That that honor ought not to 'be denied, but he thought it ſhould be defer'd. 'The wars of Liguria and Gaul had always been 'joined together, becauſe being neighboring nati- 'ons they mutually aided each other. If Scipio, 'after conquering the Boii, had either entered Li-

[a] 30000 l. [b] 6000 l.

'guria

'guria with his victorious troops, or ſent part of them to Minucius, who had ſuſtained a doubtful war there for three years, the Ligurian war might have been terminated. But inſtead of ſending his army to do the ſtate this great ſervice, he had brought them back to attend his triumph. Yet the ſenate, if they pleaſed, might correct the fault occaſioned by an eager deſire of anticipating honors, if they would defer the triumph, and order the conſul to return to his province and endeavor to reduce the Ligurians. For if they were not abſolutely reduced under the domination of Rome, the Boii would never continue quiet, and the Roman people muſt either have peace or war with both. After a few months, when the Ligurians ſhould be ſubdued, Scipio would triumph in quality of pro-conſul, after the example of many generals, who had not received that honor during their magiſtracy.'

CHAP. XXXIX.

TO this the conſul anſwer'd. 'The province of Liguria did not fall to me by lot; I did not make war on that people, neither do I demand a triumph for conquering them. I hope Minucius, after reducing them, will ſhortly demand and obtain the triumph for them which he ſhall deſerve. I demand that honor for the Boii, whom I vanquiſhed in a pitched battle, whom I ſtript of their camp, whoſe ſubmiſſion I received two days after the battle, and from whom I have brought hoſtages as a pledge of future peace. Another material circumſtance is my having killed a greater number of thoſe enemies, than any former general who fought with them. I killed more than the half of an army conſiſting of 50000 men, and took ſeveral thouſand priſoners: Now the Boii have none but ſuperannuated men and children. Can any one then be ſurprized, why my victorious army, which has not left an enemy in the province, is returned to Rome to celebrate my triumph? If the ſenate has a mind to employ them in another province, which of the two think you will make

CHAP. XL.

CHAP. XL.

'them readier to undergo new dangers and fatigues, 'either without hesitation to grant them the reward 'of their former services, or dismiss them with hopes 'instead of the substance? Will they trust to promises, 'when they have been deceived in the first instance? 'As to my own part, I think I acquired glory sufficient for all my life, that day when the senate adjudged me to be the worthiest man to receive Cybele mother of the Gods. This title will be sufficiently honorable and glorious to be put under my picture, without those of consul and triumphant victor.' The senate not only unanimously agreed to grant him a triumph, but by their authority forced the tribune to drop his opposition. In consequence he triumphed for the Boii. In the procession were led many Gaulic chariots, arms, colors, brazen vases, and all kinds of spoils. Along with the noble prisoners, a vast number of horses were led: 1370 gold [a] collars, and 245 pound weight of gold. In vases made after a different manner from those formerly used by the Gauls, 2340 of wrought and unwrought silver [b], and 233000 silver denarii. He gave each foot soldier who followed his chariot 325 asses of brass, double to a centurion, and triple to a knight. Next day he assembled the people, and after telling them what he had done himself, and the injurious intentions of the tribune to defraud him of the fruits of his victory by confining him to another province, he disbanded the army.

CHAP. XLI.

DURING these transactions in Italy, Antiochus remained at Ephesus under no apprehensions of a war with the Romans, or their having any intention to invade Asia. This security of his was owing to the ignorance or flattery of his courtiers. But Hannibal alone, who was then in great credit with the king, said, 'I am more surprized, O king, that 'the Romans are not already in Asia, than I doubt 'of their coming. They have a shorter passage 'from Greece to Asia, than from Italy to Greece; 'and it is much more their interest to pursue your

[a] 1176*l.* [b] 712*l.*

'majesty,

'majeſty, than the Ætolians. Their fleet is as for- CHAP.
'midable as their land armies: it has been long about XLI.
'cape Malea. Beſides I hear they have lately re-
'ceived a new reinforcement of ſhips, with a new
'commander. Ceaſe then to flatter yourſelf with
'the vain hopes of living in repoſe here. In a ſhort
'time, you will be obliged to fight with the Ro-
'mans in Aſia, and for Aſia itſelf. You muſt ei-
'ther loſe your kingdom, or deprive them, whoſe
'ambitious views extend to the limits of the world,
'of the ſovereignty.' He ſeems to have been the only perſon at the Syrian court, who foreſaw and faithfully foretold what actually happened. In conſequence the king ſailed, with all the ſhips he had ready, to Cherſoneſus, in order to guard the paſſes, in caſe the Romans ſhould attempt to come there by land. He ordered Polyxenidas to get ready the reſt of the fleet, and ſent out veſſels to cruize round the iſlands for intelligence.

C. LIVIUS, the admiral, having ſailed from CHAP.
Rome with 50 decked ſhips to Naples, where he had XLII.
ordered the allies to meet him with the undecked ones they were obliged to furniſh by treaty, from thence ſet ſail for Sicily, and croſſing the ſtraight arrived at Meſſina. Hence after being join'd by ſix Carthaginian ſhips, with the ſtipulated quota from the Rhegians, Locrians, and other allies, and reviewed the fleet at Lacinium, he ſtood out to ſea. The firſt Greek port he made was Corcyra. Here he enquired into the ſtate of the war, (for it was not yet terminated in Greece) and where the Roman fleet lay. As ſoon as he was informed that the Syrian and the conſul were encamped at the paſs of Thermopylæ, and that the fleet was at Piræeus, imagining that all circumſtances required expedition, he immediately put to ſea. Having made a deſcent and ravaged Peloponneſus, Samos and Zacynthos, becauſe they had choſe to join the Ætolians, he ſailed to Malea, and from thence with a fair wind arrived at Piræeus where the old fleet lay.

At

At Scyllæum he was join'd by three ſhips under king Eumenes, who had continued long at Ægina in an uncertainty, whether to return to the defence of his own dominions, (for he had heard of the vaſt land and naval preparations Antiochus was making at Epheſus) or never to part from the Romans on whom his fortune depended. A. Atilius, having delivered up 25 decked ſhips to his ſucceſſor at Piræeus, ſet out for Rome. Livius ſailed to Delos with 81 ſail of ſhips of war, and many leſſer ones without decks, but having brazen beaks, or ſuch of them as wanted ſerved for cruizers for intelligence.

CHAP. XLIII.

ABOUT this time the conſul Atilius was employ'd in the ſiege of Naupactus. Contrary winds detain'd Livius ſeveral days about Delos, for the ſtraights between the Cyclades, being ſome broad and others narrow, are ſubject to ſtorms. Polyxenidas being informed by his cruizers that the Roman fleet was at Delos, ſent to inform his maſter of it. The king immediately abandoned his enterprizes on the Helleſpont, and returned with all expedition to Epheſus with all his ſhips of war. Here he inſtantly called a council, to deliberate whether he ſhould riſque a ſea battle. Polyxenidas declared, 'that they 'ought to loſe no time, but come to an action with 'the Romans, before they were join'd by the Per-'gamenian and Rhodian fleets. By this means the 'Romans would be inferior in point of numbers; 'but the king's fleet ſuperior in all other reſpects, 'both in ſwiftneſs of the veſſels, and variety of auxi-'liaries. For the Roman ſhips, beſides their clumſey 'make, would be heavy loaded with proviſions as 'they were come into an enemy's country; whereas 'the Syrian, as all the countries round them were 'their friends, carry'd only men and arms. Beſides 'their knowledge of the ſeas, coaſts and winds, 'would be a great advantage to them, while igno-'rance of them would greatly diſtreſs the enemy.' This advice weighed greatly with all preſent, eſpecially as the author of it was to put it in execution.

They

They ſpent two days in making the neceſſary prepa- CHAP.
rations, and on the third arrived at Phocæa [a], with XLIII.
100 ſail, 70 of which had decks, the reſt without, and all of a leſſer ſize. As ſoon as the king, who was not to be in perſon in the battle by ſea, heard of the approach of the Roman fleet, he retired to his land army at Magneſia near Sipylos. The fleet went to the port of Cyſſus under ſhelter of Erythræ [b], and there waited for the Romans, as the moſt convenient ſtation. As for the latter, as ſoon as the north wind, which had detained them ſeveral days, was abated, they weighed from Delos, and arrived at Phanæ, a port in the iſland at Chios, aſpecting the Ægean ſea. Then warping up to the city, and victualling their ſhips; they ſtood away again for Phocæa. Eumenes, who had gone to his fleet at Elæa, returned within a few days, with 24 decked ſhips and a greater number of undecked ones, and join'd the Romans off Phocæa, as they were making their diſpoſition for a battle. From thence they ſet out with 150 decked ſhips, and about 50 open, but were driven by the north winds ſo cloſe upon the land, that they were obliged to ſail, only one ſhip abreaſt, and all the reſt following in a line. At laſt when the ſtorm abated, they endeavored to make the port of Corycus [c], near Cyſſus.

UPON the news of their approach Polyxenidas CHAP.
leap'd for joy, that he had an opportunity to fight XLIV.
them. He himſelf extended his left wing to the main ſea, ordering the officers of his right to draw it up along the ſhore, and thus advanced in one continued front. As ſoon as Livius perceived that, he handed his ſails, ſtruck his maſts, laid the yards by in order, and waited for the ſhips that could not come up with him. He firſt drew up 30 ſhips in front, and in order to make them equal the enemies left made them with their ſmall ſails ſtand out to ſea, ordering his ſecond line to front their right to-

[a] Now *Fochia Vecchia*, in *Æolis*.
[b] Now *Colire* in *Ionia*.
[c] Near the *Ionian* gulph.

wards

CHAP. XLIV.

wards the ſhore. Eumenes's fleet was placed as a body of reſerve: But as ſoon as they began to be in confuſion in lowering their yards, he advanced as faſt as he could. By this time the two fleets were in view. At the head of the Roman fleet were two Carthaginian galleys, which were attacked by three Syrian ſhips. As the number were unequal, two of the king's ſhips ſhut in one of the Carthaginians on both ſides, and broke her oars. Then they boarded her ſword in hand, and having either killed or thrown her crew over board, took her. The other, which engaged only with one, ſeeing the fate of her companion, retreated to the fleet before ſhe could be ſurrounded by all the three. This exaſperated Livius, and he advanced with his own ſhip againſt the enemy. When the two ſhips, which had taken the Carthaginian galley, attack'd him, in hopes of carrying him in the ſame manner, he ordered his rowers to hold water in order to keep the veſſel ſteady. Then they grappled with the two Syrian ſhips. The battle was fought as if they had been on ſhore, the Romans remembered their uſual valor, and looked on the Syrians as ſlaves inſtead of brave men. Livius boarded and took them with no more difficulty, than they had taken the ſingle Carthaginian before. Thus one ſhip boarded and took two. The ſhips were now engaged in all parts of the fleet; but it was a confuſed engagement. Eumenes, who continued in the rear after the battle was begun, no ſooner perceived the enemies left wing put in diſorder by Livius, than he attacked their right where the battle was equal. Soon after the left wing fled. For when Polyxenidas ſaw the Romans ſo much ſuperior to his own men in valor, he crowded all his ſail and fled, and the right wing, which Eumenes had attacked, immediately followed his example.

CHAP. XLV.

THE Romans and Eumenes, who hoped to haraſs their rear, purſued with all the ſpeed their oars could make. But when they ſaw that it was in vain

to follow light ships that run faster than their own which were loaded with stores, they gave over the pursuit. They took thirteen, and sunk ten Syrian ships, with the loss only of one Carthaginian galley, which had been overpowered in the beginning of the action. Polyxenidas did not stop, till he got into the port of Ephesus. The Roman fleet continued one day in the road, where the battle was fought, and the next set out in quest of the enemy. In the middle of their way, they met 25 Rhodian decked ships under command of Pausistratus. When they were all join'd they proceded to Ephesus, and anchored at the mouth of the harbor in order of battle. After they had extorted a confession from the enemy of their being conquered, Eumenes and the Rhodians went home. The Romans stood away for Chios, and coming up with the port of Phæni- CHAP. XLV.

cus facing Erythræ, they cast anchor during the night, and next day went up to the city itself which stood on the island of Chios. There they staid a few days to refresh their crews, and then sailed for Phocæa. Leaving four quinqueremes for the defence of that city, he proceded to Canæ, and as winter was approaching he laid up his fleet in port, and fortify'd the harbor with a ditch and a rampart. In the end of the year the comitia were held, and the fasces transfer'd to L. Cornelius Scipio, and C. Lælius, while all were intent on terminating the war with Antiochus. Next day, M. Tuccius, L. Aunculeius, Cn. Fulvius, L. Æmilius, P. Junius, and C. Atinius Labeo were elected prætors.

A CHRO-

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE TO THE FIFTH VOLUME OF THE ROMAN HISTORY, BY TITUS LIVIUS of PADUA.

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